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ABSTRACT

This volume contains the proceedings of a conference of social scientists and ministers on "Religion and Social Change" held at the North Carolina State University (Raleigh). Five seminars were held on the topics of (1) economic progress; (2) the distribution of income, status, and power; (3) the local community decision-making process; (4) maximizing the economy for development; and (5) organizing the church for social change. Among the more specific items discussed were: the meaning and measurement of economic progress; agricultural policy; economic change in the South; the distribution of the poor; the causes and politics of poverty; the power structure in North Carolina; the church and alternative strategies for change; the church and regional planning; labor unions and full employment; work and leisure; and manpower training programs. There was extensive discussion of ways to organize the church for social change including changing social functions of the church; new types of parish church renewal; ways of allocating church resources to deal with social problems; and the social impact of liturgy. Appendixes include reading lists on the subjects discussed. (dm)

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Religion and Social Change

A Series of Seminars

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RELIGION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

A Report on a Series of Five Seminars
With Ministers and Social Scientists

Published by
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School of Agriculture and Life Sciences
North Carolina State University

Raleigh, N. C.
November 1968

PREFACE

The ministers of many churches in the South are becoming increasingly concerned about the adjustments that are occurring in southern society. Such changes as the shift of population from rural to urban areas, the movement toward greater equality between whites and Negroes, the breakdown of the one-party political system, and the growing interdependence between the South and other regions of the country are sources of tensions and conflicts in many local communities. There appears to be a tendency for numerous churches to move toward an ever-greater involvement in problems of social change.

As a consequence of the many changes that are taking place in the social, economic, and political structure of the region, of the growing interest in the nature and sources of these changes on the part of ministers, churches and church-related groups, and of the need for social scientists to keep abreast of the changing problems, interests, and activities of ministers, the Agricultural Policy Institute, in cooperation with the Experimental Study of Religions and Society at North Carolina State University, the Divinity School of Duke University, and the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, sponsored a series of five seminars during 1967-68.

The seminars, each of which ran for one and one-half days, was in the nature of an experiment. The main objectives of the seminar series were: (1) to bring together ministers and social scientists to discuss topics of mutual interest thereby increasing each group's understanding of the other's role in social change, and (2) to develop a workable format and set of study materials which might be utilized effectively in other states as a pattern for similar seminars.

This publication is a report of how the seminars were planned, the topics discussed, and summaries of the discussions which took place at each seminar. While the emphasis of the programs of the Agricultural Policy Institute is on agricultural problems and policies, these cannot be divorced from many other problems of economic, social, and political change now being experienced in the South. In this series of seminars, therefore, attention was given to issues and problems that characterize the total environment in which rural people live and make a living.

The summaries were written by Mrs. Marion Gregory, Women's Editor of the Raleigh News and Observer. This report is being published and distributed by the Agricultural Policy Institute not only for the purpose of enhancing the reader's understanding of the subject matter discussed in the seminars, but also as an example of a technique by which ministers and social scientists in other areas might carry forward mutually beneficial discussions about important topics of current interest.

James G. Maddox
Executive Director
Agricultural Policy Institute

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PLANNING OF THE SEMINARS

Early in June 1967, a Steering Committee was organized to plan the series of seminars. The committee was composed of the following social scientists and theologians: William J. Block, Head, Department of Politics, North Carolina State University; Garland Hendricks, Professor, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary; Richard A. King, Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University; James G. Maddox, Professor of Economics and Director of the Agricultural Policy Institute, North Carolina State University; Selz C. Mayo, Head, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, North Carolina State University; Donald W. Shriver, Jr., Adjunct Assistant Professor of Religion, North Carolina State University, and Donald J. Welch, Assistant Dean, Duke Divinity School. In addition to the Steering Committee, a small working committee was appointed to plan each seminar.

At the first meeting of the Steering Committee, June 16, the following points were agreed upon:

1. The name of the series was to be "Religion and Tensions in Contemporary Society."

2. The seminar series was to be held at the Quail Roost Conference Center in Rougemont, North Carolina. Located near the Research Triangle area, the Center is operated by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The Center's facilities, which include meeting rooms and overnight accomodations, are ideal for a gathering of this type.

3. Each seminar was to last two days--from 10 a.m. the first day to 3 p.m. the second day. The following tentative agenda was drawn up listing the dates, topics and illustrative questions for discussion at each seminar:

First Seminar - October 9-10

Topic: Economic Progress

a. What is economic progress?
b. What are the conditions for economic progress?
c. How does it affect people in different industries and occupations?
d. Do we want it? (costs vs. benefits)
e. How can we speed it up or slow it down?

Second Seminar - December 4-5

Topic: The Distribution of Income, Status and Power among Different Groups of People

a. Why are some people poor and others rich?
b. What is meant by the terms "poor" and "rich"?
c. Who are the poor?
d. What clashes of interest operate to create problems for the poor?
e. What can be done to alleviate problems of the poor?

Third Seminar - January 29-30

Topic: The Decision-Making Process--Economic, Political and Social

a. Who makes the important decisions in my community?
b. What are the sources of information for decision-making in my community?
c. What are the criteria for evaluating decisions?
d. What can be done to improve decisions in my community?

Fourth Seminar - February 26-27

Topic: Operating the Economy at Full Capacity

a. What is meant by "full employment"?
b. Do we want it? (costs vs. benefits)
c. How do we influence the level of employment?
d. How does full employment affect people in different industries and occupations?

Fifth Seminar - April 1-2

Topic: Organizing the Church for Social Change

a. What are the social problem areas that churchmen in my community might fruitfully seek to act upon?
b. Who will need to be related to any effective action in that area?
c. How might this action best be carried out?

Each seminar session was to consist of presentations by speakers on selected topics followed by a period of free discussion. The program was to be fairly flexible, however, so as to allow for spontaneous discussion and a free exchange of ideas.

4. A subcommittee consisting of Shriver, Hendricks and Welch was to develop a list of ministers to receive invitations to the conference. This list was to be finalized as soon as possible so that invitations could be issued and reading materials mailed to those who accepted well in advance of the first seminar. Participants were to include representatives of all major denominations and races within approximately two

hours driving time of the Quail Roost Center. Also invited to participate or observe would be representatives from State Extension Services in the South. Representatives from three different states were to be invited to each seminar.

5. Ministers selected to participate were expected to:
   a. attend at least four out of the five seminars,
   b. do considerable assigned reading in advance of each seminar,
   c. prepare one or more reports on their community,
   d. enter fully into seminar discussions with questions and comments aimed at clarifying and enriching understanding of community, state, regional and national problems.

Invitations and the tentative agenda listing the topics and questions proposed for discussion were mailed August 8 to 44 ministers who accepted the invitation to participate in the seminars.

By mid-August, the program for the complete seminar series was beginning to take shape. Speakers, chairmen and discussion leaders were fairly well lined up by the end of the month, and the program was ready for review at the next meeting of the Steering Committee.

The Steering Committee met again September 7 to review the agendas for the entire series and to finalize the program for the first seminar. It was decided to employ Mrs. Marion Gregory, Women's Editor of The Raleigh News and Observer, to prepare a summary of the presentations and discussions of each seminar. These summaries were to be published by the Agricultural Policy Institute.

The completed program along with a list of the recommended reading materials for each seminar and the names and addresses of the ministers participating in the seminar series are presented in the Appendix.

SEMINAR I

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Maddox opened the seminar by stating that most economists do not feel they should establish goals for society. Establishing social goals, he continued, is the province of ministers, among others. One of the major purposes of the seminars is to provide ministers with background knowledge in economics, sociology and politics that will be of value to them in their ministerial duties.

Meaning and Measurement of Economic Progress

Economic growth generally is measured in terms of output--total and per capita. Assuming that total output is a good measure of progress, then an increase in per capita output would be called growth. But, he asked, does it make a difference how that output is distributed within society? It is conceivable that total output could be increasing while the great majority of people was receiving little if any increase in output. In this case, could it then be said that there is growth, development, progress?

The Gross National Product. The most common measure of economic growth is the Gross National Product (GNP), commonly defined as the market value of all the final products, goods and services produced within a nation in a given period of time (usually a year).

Components of the GNP include:

(1) Consumption goods--those goods and services bought by the individual for his private use.

(2) Gross domestic private investments--made by business in remodeling or building plants, in purchasing and maintaining equipment; made by the public in building and maintaining schools, highways, etc. This may also be defined as savings put to use in order to increase future production.

(3) Net exports--the value by which exports exceed imports.

(4) Government purchases of goods and services.

The GNP has more or less doubled every 20 years in this century. We have, over the past 60 years, experienced an extremely rapid rate of growth, with the GNP increasing much more rapidly than the number of workers required to produce the products measured.

Factors Influencing Growth. What factors influence the rate of growth?

The following paragraphs were excerpted from the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, January 1962, page 111.

> "The basic determinants of a society's productive capacity in any year are as follows:
>
> (1) The number of people available for employment, the number of hours they wish to work, their incentives and motivations, and their health, general education, occupational desires, and vocational skills;
>
> (2) The stock of new and old plant and equipment, and its composition by age, type, and location;
>
> (3) The terms on which the economy has access to natural resources, whether through domestic production or imports;
>
> (4) The level of technology, covering the range from managerial and organizational competence to scientific, engineering, and mechanical understanding;
>
> (5) The efficiency with which resources, (labor, capital and natural) domestic and foreign, are allocated to different economic ends, and the extent of monopolistic or other barriers to the movement of labor and capital from low-productivity to high-productivity uses.
>
> These basic determinants interact in complex ways. For example, advanced machinery is of little use without skilled labor to operate it; advanced technology often requires capital equipment to embody it.
>
> Next year's productive capacity will exceed this year's to the extent that the basic determinants can be expanded and improved. Success in achieving a higher rate of growth in the future depends on our willingness to spend current resources to expand our production potential and by our skill and luck in spending them effectively."

Open Discussion

Ministers seemed concerned, in the open discussion period, by the social scientists' emphasis on measures rather than on men.

What Is Economic Success? Is "success" a higher GNP? A higher GNP is growth, Dr. Maddox answered. An economist might not say it is progress, because of such factors as distribution and allocation for future growth. He was further asked on what basis the economist says that growth of the GNP is important in itself. He countered by asking the ministers why we run an economy, if not to give people more goods and services than they are able to provide for themselves.

Is Economic Growth Dehumanizing? One minister contended that the economy is able to benefit only a given number of people, and therefore acts to exclude others. This, he said, has had the effect of dehumanizing man, of destroying one man's concern for another. His statement brought forth statements from other ministers that:

--some members of society contribute to capital investments or savings, unwillingly and are victims of forced savings.

--concern with advancement of technology has become more important in the eyes of those who hold power in the economy than the advancement of man. Machinery is more important to management than man.

--the assembly line has destroyed the concept of and appreciation for the individual.

--man's worth is determined in contemporary society by his ability to produce. If a machine can out-produce him, then how is his worth determined?

Dr. Selz Mayo, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at North Carolina State University, countered that a good case could be made to the effect that the most dehumanizing force is manual labor, rather than automated labor. In the broad spectrum, he contended, never has the welfare of the worker been more important than it is today; never before has it been a matter of greater concern in society in general.

Welfare of the Consumer. One minister changed the tack by saying he would rather talk about ends; how the consumer is used or misused. Economists, Dr. Maddox answered, say the consumer is sovereign, that he directs production through his power to choose what he will buy and pay for. A modifying viewpoint argues that the consumer is so influenced by advertising that it really is the producer who is determining what will be produced. The consumer's choice, he said, certainly is modified by persuasion, but not quite by command.

Technology and Unemployment. Questioning the reason for organizing the seminar series, one minister asked: Why are economists and ministers getting together? Is it because so many people are going to be put out of work? Because we had better set some goals, such as the guaranteed minimum income? Saying that he didn't see any "handwriting on the wall" to that effect, Dr. Maddox answered that the purpose of the seminars was to help the ministers understand how and why changes take place in the economy, and to make all involved conscious of the need to take action to see that those changes do not cast man aside, do not dehumanize man. He contended that technological advance could not be labeled a "bad guy," citing the reduction of the work week to 40 hours as one of the benefits of technology.

When one minister answered that "millions are ceasing to be real consumers as they cease to be producers," Dr. Maddox cited southern agriculture as a prime example of technological advance throwing thousands of people out of productive work. The real problem, he said, is not reemploying them in agriculture, but turning them to nonagricultural production.

Must We Grow? One minister expressed concern that "we are being sucked into the proposition that an increase in the GNP is the best thing for man, that money humanizes man." Another added that his concern is that even men were being handled like machines, inventoried and directed by computer. A third suggested that the economy today does not act so that there is a direct connection between what a man puts into the system and what he receives from it. "The low man puts less in, gets more out-- and this is good," he said. Dr. Maddox disagreed with this last premise. While the ratio is not uniform, he said, it is generally true that men receive something closely related to their input. He also pointed out to the group that if society chooses to halt the advancement of technology, it can do so. There is no absolute law that technology must advance.

Policies for Human Resource Development

Selz Mayo, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at North Carolina State University, spoke on the development of human resources. He emphasized education, health, and social responsibility.

Education. The United States, he said, is still way behind in terms of keeping children in school, still has a major problem with adult literacy, and is just getting on the road in vocational-technical education.

In studying the educational complexion of a community there are four important factors to consider, he said:

(1) the quantity and quality of general education
(2) the drop-out problem
(3) adult literacy
(4) vocational-technical education.

Policies for Developing Human Resources. The public services necessary to develop the human resources of a community suffer for lack of capital resources, he pointed out, with many operating at a minimum level. Heavy resources should be poured into the following:

(1) Schools--many have not yet made a breakthrough in terms of acquiring adequate buildings, equipment and technical aids.
(2) Libraries--there is too little knowledge or concern with the materials available or the people using them. Some students enter college with no experience in using a card catalog of references.
(3) Health and medical care facilities--in many areas they are not close to being adequate for the population. Particularly in rural areas, the usage rate is low for those facilities that do exist, and dental care is at a disgraceful level.
(4) Public health services--it has been almost impossible to keep them staffed at all levels. In this area in particular, we have failed to marry our technical knowledge with the needs of the people.
(5) Vocational rehabilitation--has been geared in the past to the needs of the physically handicapped, though there was no real knowledge of what proportion of the population was handicapped

enough to make real use of vocational rehabilitation training. More resources must be put into the area of training and retraining, not only in terms of skills and abilities, but also in the areas of emotions and attitudes. Training must take on new dimensions, working in such areas as role playing and understanding what a job is, what vocation is.

Other Obstacles to Human Development. In addition to these problems, there are widely held attitudes that impede development of human resources, Mayo said. One is the extremely low level of participation in governmental decision making. City bond issues sometimes are voted on by as little as 10 to 15 percent of the registered voters. This is a correlative problem to the low level of social responsibility in the United States, particularly in the South. This factor alone has been one of the greatest impediments to the economic and social development of the southern region. Finally, society expects the family to transmit the motivation to climb the socio-economic ladder. Even in the poorest families, the motivation toward upward mobility has not been completely lost, but those who have the farthest to climb, receive the least encouragement and feel the least motivation.

Open Discussion

Motivating the Negro Poor. A Negro minister said that there is no motivation for the Negro family at the bottom. There are no job opportunities for the males, he said. In addition, they see that even the trained Negro often can't get a job. "This destroys any motivation that might have been felt at the bottom," he said. "Who gives them motivation? The family is such a disintegrated unit, who will motivate?"

Dr. Mayo answered that the community at large can act in this area. "It can't afford not to."

Cost of the Status Quo. What is the cost of ignoring the problems outlined by Dr. Mayo? He pointed out that one of the highest unemployment rates in the country is among Negro teenage dropouts. These young people may well become public charges for the rest of their lives, as much as 60 or 70 years. As opposed to the cost of supporting them for this time, there is the cost of training, retraining and motivating them. Finally, there is the cost in terms of spread of diseases and crime.

Training Is Work. Don Shriver, Adjunct Associate Professor of Religion at North Carolina State University, said he feels society has made a mistake in separating training from work. Training, he said, is work, and those who train should be paid for it. Agreeing with this premise, Mayo said that the world of work can be taught beginning with the first grade. One minister, referring to the Protestant ethic of work, said that we are expected to be busy, if not creative, and so we oblige by acting busy. We need, he said, a new concept of what work is. The church, Mayo said, has become deeply involved, in some areas, in pre-service training, in developing healthy attitudes toward work, toward a job, toward service.

Cost of Discrimination. In referring back to the question of the costs of developing human resources, particularly the Negro poor, Maddox said that if, in 1966, the unemployment level and productivity levels of the Negro had been the same as those levels for the white population, the GNP would have been increased by $27 billion--a 4 percent increase.

Farm Policies for Economic Progress

Charles R. Pugh, In Charge of Extension Farm Management and Public Affairs at North Carolina State University, spoke on farm policies for economic progress. He pointed out that he was speaking of a system of analysis, rather than a way of life.

A market-oriented economy utilizes the price mechanism to interrelate consumers and producers. In a free market economy, supply and demand are said to determine prices. Generally, consumers will demand less of an item at higher prices, while producers are willing to supply more of the item. According to classical economic theory, the demand and price schedules meet at a point which shows the price and quantity where the two parties are mutually satisfied.

Causes of Income Problems of Farmers

1. New technology is rapidly expanding the productive capacity of farms, which could depress farm prices.
2. Total demand for farm products does not increase much faster than population growth.
3. The resource base of many working on farms is too low to provide adequate incomes even with fairly favorable prices.

Alternative Policy Devices for Increasing Farm Prices and/or Incomes

1. Devices to expand demand
    a. Subsidizing consumption
        (1) Domestic (food stamp plan, school lunch program)
        (2) Foreign (Food for Peace)
    b. Developing new uses for farm products (has not been too big a success)
    c. Promotion and advertising (has little effect on total demand)
2. Devices to regulate supply
    a. Restrictions on items used in production (acreage allotments, soil banks)
    b. Restrictions on marketings (poundage quota in tobacco)
3. Devices directed specifically at prices or incomes
    a. Price supports
    b. Multiple pricing (2-price plan, based on use to which product is to be put)
    c. Direct income payments--to small farmers
4. Devices to expand resource base of farmers
    a. Education and research (substantial investment has been made in this area)
    b. Credit
    c. Land and water development (since we still have overproduction capacity some caution should be used)
5. Combinations of the devices, listed above

Moral Considerations Related to Agricultural Policy

1. Relative farm-nonfarm incomes. How important is the income gap?
2. Assured capacity to produce adequate supplies of food and fiber

3. Nutritional deficiencies in the world but lack of purchasing power
4. The optimum balance between regulation of the agricultural industry and freedom for farmers to act independently

Criteria for Evaluating Specific Agricultural Policies

1. Effect of farm income--to individual farmer, and in total? --in the immediate future, and in the long run?
2. Effect on efficiency of production?
3. Effect on price of land and other inputs?
4. Effect on production and price of other commodities?
5. Effect on efficiency in marketing?
6. Effect on public treasury cost?
7. Effect on ease of administration?
8. Effect on consumer, in terms of prices paid, taxes, and supply of high quality products?
9. Effect on price stability?
10. Effect on various regions?
11. Effect on world trade and foreign policy?
12. Effect on freedom of choice?

(Note: The degree of importance that one would assign various criteria would differ--depending upon one's objectives, economic position and values.)

Open Discussion

Production Capacity of American Farms. In response to a number of questions, Pugh said that the average farm worker can supply the needs of 40 consumers. The farmer receives between 35 and 40 percent of the final cost of the average market basket. Our grain surpluses, 60 million tons in 1961 have been cut to 45 million. While we cannot safely continue that rate of depletion, we still have more than enough grain in storage to meet the emergency of a crop disaster.

World Nutritional Gap. Maddox stated that American agriculture still has the capacity to produce much more than the market demands over the next 10 years. But, Pugh added, we do not have the capacity to meet the world nutritional gap. Stating that he had read that another generation would bring us to a world crisis on food, with the have nots revolving against the haves, one minister asked how radical the economists' thinking is in terms of U.S. ability to prevent this crisis. Subsidizing imports of American foodstuffs by poor countries is one policy aimed at meeting this problem, Pugh said. There is widespread agreement that a major answer lies in technological aid to increase productivity abroad, rather than in major emphasis on food shipments from the U.S., he said.

Changing Commodity Production. United States agricultural policy is moving in the direction of lowering price support levels to the world market price, but some of the loss in income for U.S. farmers is being offset by direct income payments in place of price supports, he said. There is a real question of how to support commodity production changes. If the farmer takes the initiative and acts independently to change the kinds of goods he produces, he can fail in his first year. At present, there is no real national support program in the horticultural field.

Along these lines, a minister from one of the state's leading agricultural counties said farmers in his area had tried horticultural production, but had found that a little more production immediately depressed the market price. They can grow horticultural products, but they can't make any profit doing so, he said. He asked what policies could be devised in the nature of marketing guarantees. One answer, Pugh said, is agribusiness, with contracts between farmers and processors. These processors guarantee the farmers that they will buy a given amount at a given price before production actually begins.

Dictator of Agriculture. Faced with the complexity of agricultural problems, should we go to a command, or directed agricultural economy rather than toward a market-oriented economy? Should we have a dictator of agriculture, an economist asked the ministers. He pointed out that in 1964, there were 148,000 farms in North Carolina. Under a more efficient system, 25,000 to 30,000 farms could have produced the same amount of goods in the same year, he said. We continue to have a great excess of human resources on our farms. We must choose now: Do we want to pile more people in the urban areas? If so, what do we want to do with them once they get there?

Using Excess of Resources to Feed the World. In response to these last questions, one minister stated that American farm problems should be put in context with world food problems. It is good, he said, that we have an excess of people on the farms. We should recognize this and use these people to do something for the rest of the world. In reply to this suggestion, Maddox made three points:

(1) There is evidence that various steps now being taken will, over the next 10 or 15 years, greatly reduce the growth rate of the world population.

(2) The U.S. can not produce enough food to feed all of those in the world who are starving. The U.S. simply does not have that great a productive capacity.

(3) Are the ministers ready to pay higher income taxes and make transfer payments to farmers so that they can feed the world?

In answer to that question, he received a resounding and unanimous "yes" from the ministers. They agreed that helping to meet the world nutritional gap through American production should be a part of American policy. They also agreed, when asked, that the costs of such production should be shared by the general population, not unloaded on the farmer.

One minister, however, expressed some caution. Suggesting that U.S. methods used on Indian farm land to feed adequately the Indian population, he pointed out, would totally disrupt their village systems. In solving one problem, we might conceivably create new and greater problems. Primarily, he argued, we would act to disrupt and destroy that native productive capacity. Jerry West, Visiting Professor of Economics at North Carolina State University, stated that the best approach to meeting the food needs of India, or any other such nation, is through improving their agricultural expertise (seed development, planting practices, fertilizers, insecticides) and through concern for the prices they can get in their own areas.

Agriculture's Voice in Government. One minister stated that he felt there was a great gap between industry's power to influence government and government spending, and agriculture's ability to influence government. Is this because agriculture does not have a unified voice? He further asked: Should we be putting money into agriculture as a weapon for peace rather than in military equipment that is outdated before it is used? Maddox pointed out in answer that the farmer has received a great deal of government assistance. In 1966, $3.3 billion was spent in assistance to farmers, an increase of 7 percent over 1960 levels. The farmer has had political support from other segments of the economy, as well, particularly from organized labor. In addition, other government programs, such as heavy commitment to national defense, have had the effect of promoting full employment, thus allowing farm youth to move into nonagricultural employment.

Pugh concluded the session by pointing out that agriculture is not a homogeneous unit. Policies that help one segment of agriculture may hurt another; policies that are favorable to one commodity may be unfavorable to another.

Fiscal and Monetary Policies for Economic Progress

Jack W. Wilson, Assistant Professor of Economics at North Carolina State University, spoke on fiscal and monetary policies for economic progress.

1946 Employment Act. The 1946 Employment Act set up the President's Council of Economic Advisors. It also set some rather nebulous goals--full employment, economic growth and price level stability. Even finding a measure of the achievement of these goals has proved difficult. For example, employment is measured from a sample taken by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It also is measured by the Bureau of Employment Security. The figures arrived at by the two bureaus do not agree. Price levels can be measured by the consumer price index, the wholesale price index or the implicit GNP deflator and there is no agreement as to which is the most accurate measure. In the area of economic growth, is the measure total growth of the GNP or is it the per capita growth of the GNP? There is no generally accepted and completely accurate measure for any of these. Further complications arise in agreeing on definitions. What is full employment? Is it an unemployment rate of 2, 4, or 5 percent? The median since World War II has been 5 percent, but most economists would favor the 4 percent level.

Potential GNP. Ideally, Wilson said, we do not want the economic system to produce the absolute maximum of which it is capable. Rather, we want to produce the optimum amount of goods and services without producing undue upward pressure on the price level. This involves an ideal level of output plus full utilization of the labor force and capital. As a result, the actual GNP should increase about 2 percent per annum, while the potential GNP (the absolute maximum that could be produced) should increase at a slightly higher rate.

The 1964 Tax Cut. The 1964 tax cut acted to stimulate the economy and moved the actual GNP up to the potential GNP for the years 1965 and 1966. Now, because of government purchases for the war in Vietnam, the actual GNP is considerably above the level predicted as the potential GNP.

Tax revenues are an increasing function of the GNP. When they equal government spending, then the budget is balanced. Before the 1964 cut, the President's Council of Economic Advisors argued that if the GNP were stimulated to reach its potential level, the result would be a government surplus in revenue. Therefore, they argued for a tax cut as the stimulant. The cut, however, has a multiplier effect in society, and at the potential level the result was not a surplus, but simply a balanced budget. We are now in a situation where we have the lowered tax rate while government expenses have been driven up by the requirements of prosecuting the war in Vietnam. This acts to force prices up.

Full Employment and Price Stability. We also have discovered that full employment and price stability are incompatible. Increasing the employment level invariably forces the price level up. The goal, therefore, has become not full employment and price level stability, but a balance between the two with the greatest amount of employment possible in a relatively stable price situation. That level generally has been 4 percent. Should unemployment be reduced to 1 percent, the price level might rise by as much as 15 percent per annum. Our unemployment rate is higher than in some industrial nations. Our unemployed includes workers on strike, those temporarily laid off, and those temporarily out of work.

Open Discussion

The above presentation was illustrated with several graphs. Probably because of the complexity of the subject, its removal from common experience and the lack of time in which to digest and understand the workings of the graphs, there were few questions in the discussion period. Wilson was asked by one minister why we had to be content with a 4 percent unemployment rate. The 4 percent, he said, was not held out as something desirable, but as something achievable. The figure, he said, was based on facts, not ideals.

He was also asked to explain why a drop in unemployment meant a rise in prices. Again stating that the labor market is rather immobile, he said that it has been suggested that government subsidize relocation of workers to areas where their services are in demand. Making labor more mobile, he said, would be the best way to lower unemployment while maintaining price level stability.

Expressing great concern with the acceptance of a 4 percent unemployment rate, ministers suggested (1) that if corporations would be satisfied with lower profits, the unemployment rate could be lowered, and (2) that a price guidelines policy could be effected, with increased output of full employment acting to decrease the price of goods.

A Balanced Federalism for Economic Growth

William J. Block, Head of the Department of Politics, North Carolina State University, spoke on the topic.

Functions of Government. Government has two major functions: policy making and administration. Politics is a method of policy making. Social scientists have now come around to the viewpoint that policy making and administration can not be separated. The administrator makes policy by the way in which he puts it into effect, and policy makers increasingly are writing into legislation the form in which administration is to be organized and carried out. There is, in fact, a great concern on the part of the policy maker with administration. Policy makers have gotten directly into administration by dealing with legislation on a case by case basis, rather than limiting themselves to broad generalizations. Legislation often gets down to the question of who gets what government services.

Levels of Government. Just as the national government no longer can be explained and understood in three neat categories--legislative, administrative, and judicial, so the dividing lines between the different levels of government have become hazy in practice. While expanding national powers have meant shrinking state powers, state and local governments also have gone into areas that were not dreamed of 40 years ago--human relations and recreation for example. In addition, a wide variety of government programs involve all levels of government. This is particularly true of welfare programs. Thus, policy made in Washington can be modified by administrators all the way down the line to the county level. Block also pointed out that on each level, the units themselves are not equal. An urban county government would have much more in common with a city government than with an agricultural rural county government. And the problems of government in New Hampshire are not the same as the problems of government in California.

The Amateur Administrator. One characteristic of smaller units of government is the prevalence of the amateur administrator. This in itself accounts for much of the unevenness and inequality of administration of policy made at higher levels of government. Larger units, such as the states and the great cities, hire professional administrators, but even the states are moving unevenly along this line. Even the hiring of professional administrators does not guarantee equal administration. They not only have personal biases, they also have the knowledge and resources to have an even greater effect on policy in practice than the well-meaning amateur.

States' Rights. One of the great problems in maintaining states' rights is that the scales of expertise are loaded in favor of the national government. As a result, it will take much more than the restructuring of state government to make the federal system more viable. Many states, for example, do poorly on structure, but function fairly well. Does this mean that federalism is dying? No, according to Block, but the activities of the different levels are shifting. And new approaches will have to be found. He suggested regional pacts as one promising approach.

There was no open discussion following the presentation.

Panel Discussion

Brought into sharp focus at the open panel discussion was the importance of the church as a private agency for social service as opposed to its potential role as an influencing agent in determining public policies of social service.

Taxing Church Property and Non-Profit Foundations. Would taxation of currently non-taxable church properties help ease resource problems in areas with low tax bases? Does the church's opposition to taxation amount to negating its responsibilities? Ministers also asked if all contributions to charitable organizations should be taxed. It was pointed out that taxable income deductions for contributions to charity are offered by the federal government as stimulae for development of social responsibility and social service in the private sector. Others asked, however, if it is better that the Ford Foundation exist, or would it have been preferable that Ford plant workers received higher wages during the period when these excess profits were accumulated. Ministers were asked: Which of these choices do you want to make, and who do you want to make them? Do you want the public or the private sector to act in the area of social problems--particularly in the area of research in social problems? Do you want to encourage public or private responsibility?

In regard to taxation of church income and property, several ministers defended the exemption by equating the activities of the church with the public good, while others stated that the church itself should be ready to end its preferential treatment.

Private Charity or Public Action. One minister cited private church supported orphanages as evidence of the church's concern for and support of social welfare. He was challenged by a social scientist, who stated that church orphanages are "like dropping a marble in the ocean." If the church is concerned with the welfare of deprived children it should spend its economic and physical resources in supporting and promoting the Aid for Dependent Children program, he said. He was asked if he were suggesting that the church be divested of its charitable functions in the area of social welfare and mobilize itself for political action. When he agreed, several ministers added that the church does tend to pat itself on the back for small efforts rather than get involved in larger areas.

The Church and the Profit Margin. Stating that the forces that influence the economic system are basically selfish and un-Christian, one minister said that he could not see any real role for the church in influencing the economic system toward more Christian concerns. It was suggested that simple and concentrated preaching of individual obligation to society could in the long run influence the workings of the economic system. He asked: What can the church do to influence the profit margin? What can the church do to change the attitude of a society that wilfully sets up a system that disinherits 4 percent of the population? The Supreme Court's "one man-one vote" ruling was cited as a change in the system growing out of theological influences.

Church as Force for the Status Quo. Richard King, Professor of Economics at North Carolina State University, concluded the panel discussion with a speech designed to sting the ministers into new lines of thought, into a re-evaluation of the function of the church, and perhaps into action. He first charged that in changing an economic system that directly affects people and communities, the church has not a lack of influence, but a negative influence. The church, he said, has acted to slow down the individual's and the community's understanding of the social, political and economic changes and pressures affecting them. The church, with its narrow control, has tried to maintain the status quo, to prevent the community from changing to meet new situations or from understanding those situations. The church today, he said, is forced to face this matter of changes, to consider the alternatives to meeting those changes and to make policy decisions in these areas.

Calling it the old argument of love versus justice, he also challenged the ministers' assumption that the economic system and those who study or influence it are concerned with profits rather than with people. Are you justified, he asked, in separating profits from people? The church should attempt to put to good use mutual selfishness. Instead of scorning profits, the church should ask what it can do to force the economic system to divide the profits, the goods and the services more equitably. This has been the best system devised, he said, and ministers should not be quite so ready to trade it off. Rather, he suggested, they should ask what can be done to make it more sensitive to the needs of the people.

Standing up for Man. Pointing out that man has to be a productive human being in order to get enough out of the system to live, social scientists urged the ministers to consider ways in which the church can act to make man more productive. Suggestions made by Mayo in his talk on developing human resources were called again to their attention. It is the duty of the Christian, it was suggested, to work for those things which will increase human potential. It was asked: Has the church taken a stand for equality of opportunity?

Ministers again asked if the social scientists were saying the church should become a base for political power, "We want you to understand what you can do," Maddox answered. "Then you can decide what you will do."

Questions for Study. The ministers then posed questions for debate in future meetings. What is the effect of militarism on our economy? Is war--cold or hot--maintained as a stimulus for the economy? In the light of technological advances, does a man have to be related directly to the producing end of the economy in order to be related to the consuming end? Do we need to re-think our definition of productive man?

One minister concluded the session by saying he felt the challenge to society is to find the meaning of life after we have solved the basic economic problems of life.

Long-term Outlook for Progress and Employment

Maddox spoke on the outlook for economic progress in the South.

Time of Great Transition. The South, he said, is in the midst of a great transition. We are seeing fundamental change in our economy, our social structure and our political views as a region.

From early colonial days up until the last 30 years, the South has been set apart from the rest of the nation by two factors:

(1) a heavy orientation toward an agriculture that is low in productivity and technologically backward.

(2) maintenance of a dual society based on race, with each sector having its own behavioral standards.

The result has been poverty, a low level of education, poor support of public education, and a high concentration of political and economic power in few hands, with that power sometimes earned by inheritance rather than achievement.

Nature of Change in the South. What are the major changes taking place in the South today?

(1) Commercialization of agriculture, resulting in a diminishing of agrarian values and traditions. Power is shifting to the urban centers.

(2) The status of the Negro is rising, in terms of income, educational level, political interests and power. This has become a considerable source of tension in the South and we will have to continue to live with that tension.

(3) Changes taking place in the South have been forced on the region; they were not created or generated by the South.

Though these changes have been forced from the outside, Maddox said, the South must realize it is part and parcel of the nation and can not continue to set itself apart. If we try to withdraw into a shell of southern distinctiveness, we will become an island of poverty, despair, and desperation; we will be by-passed by the rest of the nation and the world. The desire to do just that by many who hold power and influence in the South has become a source of frustration and anger among those with rising aspirations.

The South's antipathy to change has been reinforced in recent years by the lack of immediate and great results from some of the new federal programs. The region has been unprepared to administer several of these programs. Administration has been marked by inefficiency and personal bias. Over the next three or four years, this should pass. It is our responsibility, he said, to have faith and confidence that we are moving in the right direction. We are responsible for how we respond to the forces of change, and we must be ready to move ahead faster than the rest of the nation if we are going to improve our relative position and become the equal of other regions.

The Growth Gap. In the period from 1949 to 1960, the South's population increased 32 percent, while the population of the rest of the nation increased 37 percent. In the same period, employment in the South rose 35 percent, while employment in the rest of the nation rose 45 percent. In the area of income, the picture is mixed. Our per capita income made a greater percentage gain than in the rest of the nation, but this was due in part to the fact that large numbers of low income people, primarily Negroes, were moving out of the region. The actual dollar gap in our per capita income as opposed to the per capita income in the rest of the nation has widened. Projections to 1975 do not indicate that the South will greatly increase its percentage of National employment. During that period, however, there will be a large decrease in agricultural employment. In 1960, there were 4.5 million people employed in agriculture in the South. By 1975, the number could fall to 3 million. A decrease in textile mill employment may also occur. Employment in service producing industries is expected to rise both in the region and the nation, while employment in goods producing industries will decrease through technological advances and automation.

Changes in Agricultural Production. Maddox then asked King to outline expected changes in agricultural production in North Carolina in the next decade. The cost of keeping people on small family farms will force North Carolina into industrialized agriculture, King said. The broiler and egg industry already has moved in this direction, he pointed out. Cotton farming will diminish and tobacco farming will move farther east and south. The state as a whole is likely to go to a hog-corn-soybean base, like that of the Mid-west. All of this, he said, will come about through the workings of a competitive economic system, rather than through political decisions and actions. Tobacco marketing may move to direct purchase at the farm rather than warehouse auction on a regulated schedule.

Asked specifically about Eastern North Carolina, he pointed out that the quality of the region's labor makes it extremely attractive to certain kinds of industry, such as apparel finishing and food processing.

"We will see a lot of that kind of industry," he said. "What I fail to see is what would attract any other than a low wage industry." Our well-trained and well-educated young people usually move out of the area, making it even more difficult to effect change.

Study of the Local Community

Mayo outlined, for the ministers, techniques and approaches they might use in studying their local communities. Each minister was assigned the task of making a preliminary study of his community before planning any line of action on a specific local problem. These community studies were reviewed at the meeting of the third seminar. The techniques suggested by Mayo are described in the report on the third seminar.

SEMINAR II

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, STATUS, AND POWER AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE

The Church and the Poor

Donald Shriver, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Religion, North Carolina State University, opened the discussions with an examination of the church and its attitude toward the poor. Three specific Biblical themes deep in the heritage of the Christian church--materialism, community of property, and justice--were cited.

(1) *Materialism*--Christianity is the least spiritualistic of all religions, Shriver said, pointing to the concern for material prosperity, even in the image of the Garden of Eden. The promises of reward on earth are in terms of land flowing with milk and honey, and the image of the ultimate future is a salvation described in terms of material goods. Possession and enjoyment of the benefits of the material world are never, in themselves, reasons for guilt.

(2) *Community of property*--While stressing attainment of material benefits, the Christian ethic does not recognize absolute property rights for the individual. The poor are not to be left to shift for themselves, but have some rights to the produce of the land of others. In the story of Ruth, the gleaners have rights to the fields.

(3) *Justice*--Christian justice has a decided bias to the weak, based on the theory that the powerful can protect their just interests and have power left over to protect their unjust interests. Thus Christian justice is not far removed from mercy, and works for the correction of gross inequalities in distribution of goods and benefits.

Suspicion of Riches. There is a definite suspicion of riches that comes to a unique intensity in the New Testament. This suspicion did not abate in the Christian church until the third century, when rich men began to come into the church and exert influence.

No Economic Ethic. While the Bible contains these basic themes, it does not contain a complete economic ethic. Thus the early Christian church was left to reckon with the systems around it without benefit of blueprint.

Early Church and the World. By the year 1000 A.D., the church and the world had become virtually indistinguishable, with the church mirroring and reinforcing the feudal system. To offset the injustices of the system, the church built its great chain of welfare institutions. And it developed two economic doctrines to protect the poor: (1) the just price and (2) the prohibition of interest. Through the year 1500, the operating economic fact was scarcity, and the complacency and conservatism of the church was related to that fact.

Protestant Ethic. With the final breakdown of the feudal system, both society and the church were energized through the development of the trade community and the protestant movement in the church. The Protestant Church developed four significant themes relating to man and materialism:

(1) Predestination, focusing religion on the individual and his own destiny.

(2) The individual calling, making the life and work of each man significant.

(3) This-worldliness, a shift from asceticism toward working out one's salvation in this world through hard work.

(4) Glorifying God by building up wealth, not for self-betterment, but for use to better the lot of man.

Built into these new developments was an affinity for capitalism, a recognition of a positive good in accumulating capital for economic development.

Shackles for the Poor. While these developments broke some shackles from the poor and gave them the right to improve their station in life through hard work, they also imposed new shackles. Poverty became the responsibility of the individual, wealth became a badge of virtue, and economic growth was seen to be guided by an invisible hand, leaving man free to worry only about himself in relation to that growth. Indeed, man began to see that poverty might be a necessary ingredient of economic growth. He became concerned with the problem of keeping the poor at their own level, thus providing the necessary cheap labor.

The Protestant ethic enabled man to relate poverty to laziness, thus releasing him from the responsibility for alleviating it.

Attitudes Toward the Poor. According the Shriver, religious and economic attitudes toward the poor have combined to insure that they will be not only poor, but also miserable. Among these attitudes, he listed:

(1) a man's identity is wrapped up in the job he holds;
(2) it is better to do anything than to do no work at all;
(3) poverty is a man's individual shame.

New Attitudes Proposed. Shriver cited four developments he hopes to see in the church and its attitude toward the poor:

(1) Celebration of some of the economic potentials of today; a recognition of economic growth as a means of wiping out poverty.
(2) An upholding of the moral tradition in relation to economic growth, giving priority to the needs of the poor.
(3) A redefinition of poverty and wealth against a background of this moral tradition, recognizing a social wealth of education, wisdom and dignity.
(4) A redefinition of the importance and meaning of work.

In summation, Shriver urged that the church go even beyond celebrating and teaching into direct involvement with the material world of the poor.

Discussion was postponed until after the second presentation.

Who Are the Poor?

Jerry West, Visiting Professor, Department of Economics, North Carolina State University, opened the topic by stating that we must know specifically who the poor are before we know what kinds of groups are poor, what the causes of poverty are, how to measure whether or not progress is being made in alleviating poverty, and how to evaluate programs attacking poverty.

Types of Measures. There are two types of measures for determining poverty--relative and absolute.

(1) In relative terms, there will always be a lower fifth on the economic scale. The major question then becomes what proportion of the national income they receive.

(2) In absolute terms, minimum levels of decency are established and the poor are determined by evaluating what goods and services they can obtain.

Social Security Poverty Index. The famous $3,000 level, with all families having total incomes below that mark being considered in the poverty group, was established by the President's Council of Economic Advisors. In recent years, the Social Security Administration has attempted to determine a line adjusted to family size, and whether the family is farm or nonfarm (Table 1).

The Social Security Administration used a "market basket" approach--what do people need to have and what will it cost to fill these needs? An economy diet was established, and its cost determined. On the theory that families in the lower economic levels spend one-third of their income on food, the cost of housing, clothing and other needs were determined by multiplying the food cost by three. Social Security analysts decided that a farm family will need 70 percent of what a nonfarm family needs, in terms of income.

The Poverty Census. As of 1964, the poor in the United States numbered between 33 and 34 million persons, comprising 12 million households. Within this group were 15 million children, 5.5 million persons over age 65, and 1.5 million women who were heads of households.

Among the poor, one-fourth of the white and one-third of the Negro heads of households worked fulltime (2.5 million households). Of these, 48 percent were farmers.

Underlining the relation of family size and poverty, West pointed out that as the number of children moved from two to six, the percentage of families below the poverty level moved from 11 to 46.

Among children in poverty, 7 percent of all whites and 23 percent of nonwhites had only the mother as head of the family.

Table 1. Persons in poverty status in 1963 by alternative definitions

Type of unit	A[a]	B[b]	C[c]	D[d]	Total U.S. population
			(millions)		
Total no. of persons	33.4	34.0	34.5	34.6	187.2
Farm	4.9	6.4	5.1	3.2	12.6
Nonfarm	28.5	27.6	29.3	31.4	174.6
Unrelated individuals	4.9	4.0	4.9	4.9	11.2
Farm	.2	1.4	.2	.1	.4
Nonfarm	4.7	2.6	4.7	4.8	10.8
Members of family units	28.5	30.0	29.6	29.7	176.0
Farm	4.7	5.0	4.9	3.1	12.2
Nonfarm	23.8	25.0	24.6	26.6	163.8
Children under age 18	10.8	15.7	14.1	15.0	68.8
Farm	1.3	2.4	2.1	1.5	4.8
Nonfarm	9.0	13.3	12.0	13.5	64.0

[a] Under $3,000 for family, under $1,500 for unrelated individuals (interim measure used by Council of Economic Advisors).

[b] Level below which no income tax is required, beginning in 1965.

[c] $1,500 for first person plus $500 for each additional person, up to $4,500.

[d] Economy level of the poverty index developed by the Social Security Administration, by family size and farm-nonfarm residence centering around $3,100 for four persons.

Source: Mollis Orskansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 28, No. 1, January 1965, p. 11.

One-fourth of all households below the poverty level are made up of the aged.

Among the nonwhites (Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Indians), two-fifths of all households are below the poverty level, nationally; one-half are below the poverty level in the South.

Open Discussion

Changes Since 1964. Are the poor getting poorer? This was the first question asked in open discussion. It was contended by some that the only real shifts in the economic pie slicing are an improvement of the upper middle income group, and a decline in the income share of the top 5 percent. Others charged that the elderly and the unskilled, virtually unemployable today are relatively worse off than they were five years ago. The data in Table 2 were reviewed, but it was conceided that the use of averages could mask the true situation of particular groups.

It was also asked whether or not the migration of nonwhite rural families from the South to the northern ghettoes has not artificially improved the position of the South since 1964.

What Hopes for Change? Is there any hope for immediate improvement? The problem is long-term, it was answered. And for some groups, such as the aged, there is no chance for improvement except through large-scale government aid programs.

What Is Poverty? Is poverty all of a piece with income? While income level is the prime foundation plank of poverty, it is not the whole picture, it was contended. Ghettoes, seats of poverty, contain families who could afford to improve their apparent circumstances (housing and clothing) but choose to live in poverty conditions. According to one participant, the number could run as high as 15 percent.

Does Menial Work Degrade? Drawing the most attention was the nature of menial work and its effect on man's spirit. Does some work degrade the man performing it? It was on this question that the sharpest differences of opinion developed.

Is there a place for a new appreciation of menial work? Why doesn't society pay a living wage to the performers of the most menial tasks? Is there dignity in performing menial labor, or should we rejoice in mechanization

Table 2. Households below three budget levels, by contemporary standards, 1929-60

Year	Below "minimum subsistence" level	Below "minimum adequacy" level	Below "minimum comfort" level
		(percent of households)	
1929	26	43	48
1935	27	46	64
1941	17	32	48
1944	10	15	45
1947	15	27	39
1950	14	28	41
1951	12	25	37
1952	12	22	36
1953	14	23	39
1954	14	27	44
1955	12	28	43
1956	11	26	44
1957	10	25	40
1958	13	28	41
1959	12	27	37
1960	11	26	40

that performs this labor and eliminates jobs open to the unskilled? One minister contended that he would prefer society pay a man to pursue a hobby rather than pay him to collect garbage, while others contended that the nature of the job performed is not a real issue in evaluating a man's dignity.

What Is Dignity? Is the value of work as a source of dignity overemphasized? And should we begin paying larger numbers of people for occupations that are not economically productive? The question was simplified to: What gives a man dignity? Is it income, is it productivity, is it work? When a man performs "dirty work," will payment of a premium for such work create dignity?

It was asserted by an economist that dignity today is associated with income received, and that possible answers to the problem include increasing income, training programs for unskilled labor, public support for services, and technological advances eliminating menial service. In answer, it was contended that the relationship between income and status must be broken, and that the question of what makes a man a man must be taken out of the economic realm.

Causes of Poverty

In discussing the causes of poverty, Maddox reminded participants that the economic system is not concerned with the dignity of man or his humanity.

He said that while our highly productive economic system has greatly improved the general level of living for many kinds of people, it has functioned to throw some people out of the mainstream of economic and material progress. In all probability, these people will continue to live in poverty unless some action is taken outside the ordinary workings of the economy.

Factors Creating Poverty. Factors creating poverty include:

(1) a high level of unemployment, characteristic of the system from time to time;

(2) a rapid substitution of capital and technology for labor;

(3) uneven rates of technological advance among different industries and among different regions of the country;

(4) employment discrimination on the basis of race or sex;

(5) exhaustion of natural resources in certain areas of the country; and

(6) changes in consumer tastes and demands.

Employment Equation. In equation form, the total number of persons employed is equal to the total amount of production divided by the amount produced per worker. The total amount of production can be stated in several terms:

(1) the gross national product (GNP), or

(2) the total value of all final goods and services produced in a given period of time, or

(3) wages plus interest plus rents plus profits plus depreciation (Table 3).

How the Equation Operates. The amount of goods produced per worker generally is a function of the amount of capital which he uses and the level of technology rise. Thus, as the amount of capital and the level of technology rise, the amount produced per worker increases. If production remains the same, or does not increase at a comparable rate, the result is unemployment.

Changes in the gross national product, or total amount of production, are also caused by demand shifts. Changes in demand effect both the total level of GNP and the mixture of goods and services which make up the total. Other changes in the GNP are caused by varying rates of change among industries in investment of capital and technology. As these changes occur, some persons cannot make the shift from one industry to another or from one area of the country to another and, therefore, join the ranks of the unemployed. As a result, they sink into poverty, and without help, are likely to remain there.

Racial Discrimination. Referring to the role of racial discrimination in employment, Maddox pointed out that the proportion of Negroes occupying low status jobs is much greater than their proportion of the total labor force. He added that those Negroes with the same amount of education employed in the same type of job as whites have lower incomes. This can be explained in part by the fact that in a segregated school system the

Table 3. Relationship between gross national product and unemployment

Year	Total gross national product	Total labor force[a]	Unemployment as a percent of civilian labor force
	(bil. dols.)	(1,000)	(percent)
1930	90.4	50,080	8.7
1935	72.2	53,140	20.1
1940	99.7	56,180	14.6
1945	211.9	65,300	1.9
1950	284.8	64,749	5.3
1951	328.4	65,983	3.3
1952	345.5	66,560	3.1
1953	364.6	67,362	2.9
1954	364.8	67,818	5.6
1955	398.0	68,896	4.4
1956	419.2	70,387	4.2
1957	441.1	70,744	4.3
1958	447.3	71,284	6.8
1959	483.7	71,946	5.5
1960	503.7	73,126	5.6
1961	520.1	74,175	6.7
1962	560.3	74,840	5.6
1963	590.5	75,712	5.7
1964	631.7	75,830	5.2
1965	681.2	77,178	4.5
1966	739.5	78,893	3.8
1967[b]	775.1	80,954	3.9

[a] Includes those in Armed Forces which ranged from 1.5 million to 3.6 million since 1947.

[b] Rate during second quarter of 1967.

same number of years in school doesn't necessarily mean that the same level of education has been attained. But figures from the 1960 census show that whites with ninth grade educations earn substantially more than Negores with 12 grades of school completed, indicating that actual discrimination on the basis of race probably exists in employment.

Discrimination is costly. A study made by the President's Council of Economic Advisors states that if the average productivity of the Negro and white labor force had been equalized at the white level, and if the Negro unemployment rate had been lowered to the white unemployment rate, the 1965 GNP would have been increased by $27 billion, a 4 percent gain.

Open Discussion

Forced Employment? The possibility of requiring industry to provide new employment for every person thrown out of a job by technological advance was discussed. Would such a requirement slow down changes in employment levels among the different industries, and would it slow down the growth of the GNP? Maddox noted that such requirements probably could not be forced on a market economy. He added that he saw little evidence that serious problems of inequality of income could be coped with in the normal functioning of the present market system.

Effectiveness of Government Programs. The effectiveness of current government programs attacking poverty was questioned. The concensus was that while these programs are headed in the right direction, in actual practice, they have made only a very small beginning.

Rural Poverty

The nature of rural poverty was discussed by C. E. Bishop, Vice President of the University of North Carolina, and Executive Director of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty established by President Johnson in 1966. The commission issued its findings in the fall of 1967, in a report entitled The People Left Behind. (For sale by U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402, Price $1.00.)

Of the 14 million poor in rural America in 1967, the vast majority do not live on farms. And they are not predominantly Negro, the commission found. Of the total, 11 million were white.

"As we look at a man, how much of what he is is his responsibility and how much is the responsibility of the system?" Bishop asked. While the answer lies somewhere between, he stated that people tend to view the answer from one extreme or the other.

General Findings. Among the general findings of the commission were the following:

(1) The economy is going through structural changes that will have adverse effects on some people, and is giving them little or no say in these changes. In the natural resource based industries--farming, lumber and mining--vast injections of capital and technology are creating unemployment at a high rate. At the same time, technology has affected those businesses which used to service the rural areas. To survive, they have been forced to seek larger markets, and in so doing have pulled together into the larger cities. As a result, the small rural communities have lost their economic base.

    This relocation is still in process. In effect, the small communities are being pulled apart and put back together again in larger units. In the Midwest the economically viable community of today is 100 times as large as it was in 1900.

(2) There is a widespread failure in the rural areas to prepare people for life in contemporary society. According to Bishop, rural schools, libraries, hospitals, churches and government all are inferior or inept. He stated that the quality of these institutions as compared with those in urban areas is likely to decrease even more in the future.

(3) Areas once called rural and urban now are too closely linked to separate. What we have, rather, is a series of interlocking communities linked by a web through which transportation and communication move.

Urban Migration. As to rural-urban migration, Bishop stated that 750,000 more people will leave the farms this year, and the rural communities also will lose an even greater number of people to the cities. This rural-to-urban migration is one of the greatest movements of human resources in history, with more than 25 million people moving to the cities in the past

25 years. For the most part, it went on unnoticed, unguided and unstructured until the resulting pressures in the cities caused violent explosions in recent years.

New Problems for Cities. Migration today is creating new problems as the role of the central city undergoes rapid change. Manufacturing is locating on the by-passes and in the suburbs, not in the center of cities where the ghettoes are located with their vast supply of low-skilled and unskilled workers. The employment demand in the central city is for the professional man. Thus those moving from rural areas to the hearts of the cities are finding that they are not qualified for the jobs that exist there.

Lack of Organization. Bishop cited the lack of organization as a special factor in rural poverty. The urban poor, he contended, are far better organized and are far more vocal about their needs and demands. "You hear little from the rural poor. And you aren't hearing from the whites among the urban poor; you hear from the blacks in the metropolitan centers," he said. "We've made the mistake of letting our (poverty) programs get labelled as racial."

To attempt to solve the problems of central cities by dealing with them alone will only create a vacuum, drawing in more people from among the rural poor, Bishop said.

Government Programs Evaluated. He evaluated traditional government programs dealing with the poor as follows:

(1) Agricultural policies--Price supports aid the large farm operators rather than the marginal farmer.

(2) Public housing--This often acts to create new ghettoes, and building sites seldon are related to health facilities and job availability.

(3) Welfare--Payment policies have built in features and restrictions which destroy incentives and which act to break up the family unit.

(4) Social security--Eighty percent of increases in the payments go to the non-poor, and a general increase in payments will do little to alleviate poverty.

(5) Food stamp plan--Though financed by the federal government, administration is provided by local governments, creating great differences in administration from state to state. For example, the cut-off level in South Carolina is less than half that of the level in Iowa

(6) Manpower programs and employment security systems--The federal government foots the bill for 51 independent employment systems. Because employment security systems are operated on a state-by-state basis, there is little inclination to move the unemployed across state lines.

Commission Conclusions. Three broad conclusions of the commission were listed:

(1) Programs must be drawn up to meet the immediate needs of the rural poor.

(2) Efforts must be made to strike at the basic causes of poverty.

(3) People must be aided to move into better economic situations. Studies indicate that relocation assistance programs would pay a return of over 100 percent on the investment (through lowered welfare costs and increased production). This is an even greater return than is realized on government funds to aid education.

Open Discussion

Bishop's presentation drew some of the most lengthy and most spirited discussion of the seminar. Ministers felt that his presentation had been provocative, laced with new ideas, and not overburdened with statistics or extraneous information.

Financing the War on Poverty. The discussion centered on resistance to financing the poverty program. The role of the organized poor and current fears that the OEO is organizing the poor, particularly the Negro poor, and thus threatening existing power groups was suggested as one basic cause.

Ministers also asked if the poor have any real prospects for action, except through increased organization and increased violence.

The current dribble approach, with minimum funds being directed into pilot programs, is paying virtually no economic return, Bishop stated. A complete program could be financed by allocating one-third to one-half of the increase in the GNP over the next 10 years, according to Maddox. The investment would then pay for itself through even greater increases in the GNP, he said.

Selling Job Needed? Do we need a concerted selling job to convince businessmen and politicians that an improved labor force will pay off in domestic stimulation and a more vigorous internal economy? Or would encouraging industry to take on the problem only act to increase the problem of undirected growth of the central cities? A national prejudice against national planning was cited in discussion of these questions.

Poverty and the Individual

Howard Miller, Head, Department of Psychology, North Carolina State University, discussed the psychological development and the psychological problems of the poor.

High Psychosis Rate. Poverty results in personal misery and frustrations for the poor. Marked evidence of psychological maladjustment has been noted among the poor, with their rate of psychosis being more than twice as great as among those with adequate or surplus incomes.

For the individual, poverty is indicative of a failure to develop individual abilities and social functioning techniques. The poor are undeveloped or underdeveloped in ability, social responsibility, social effectiveness and general all around competence.

Personality of Poverty. Affected by the stresses of physical illness, broken homes and financial difficulties, the poor have developed specific and characteristic personality traits--apathy, suspiciousness, inability to defer gratification, inability to set goals and make plans for the future, a lack of self-identity.

Special Racial Problems. The Negro poor have special problems beyond these general ones. They have been victims of terror, their race image is damaged, and their children have difficulty finding effective models among the adult males. Negro family life is chaotic and offers little basis for healthy personality development in children. As a result, they develop a need for instant gratification that often leads to mental illness, to drugs and to crime.

Mental Capacities Aren't Fixed. Our approaches to analyzing poverty have tended to make us think of the poor as groups, rather than individuals, Miller said. He called poverty our failure to develop individuals to the maximum of their capacities. The essential fact of poverty is that the poor are low in skills, education and hope. This fact has led the prosperous majority to regard the poor as low and undevelopable in character and ability as well. While their abilities usually are low, they are not undevelopable. Tests have shown that measures such as the IQ can be increased by as much as 15 or 20 points, the margin between the mentally handicapped and the average. Thus the intelligence capacity of an individual is hardly fixed and rigid.

A further difficulty in measuring intelligence capacities is finding a sample of behavior that is applicable to the life experiences of those persons being tested.

Intervening in Childhood. Early intervention in the life of a child can have substantial effects on its ability to benefit from education and training. Unless such intervention occurs, some children may sink to an even lower level of the economic society than that to which it was born.

Providing a stimulating environment can substantially increase capacity to adjust to new situations and to learn from them. Poverty conditions create a situation in which optimal development of children does not occur. The children have:

(1) little interaction with adults
(2) few toys
(3) a poor background of stimuli
(4) retarded language development
(5) poor motivational patterns.

Because they have not experienced a consistent pattern of reward for certain types of behavior, they are unable to form continuous patterns of behavior.

Educational programs for young children up through continuing education for adults offer the major means for social intervention to reduce the effects of poverty. But if our educational system is to be effective in this intervention, it must undergo substantial reorganization and develop better ways of training its professionals.

Open Discussion

Questions following the presentation centered on the effects of urbanization and of the working mother on the development rate in younger children.

How Far Can Society Intervene? Ministers also asked to what extent society and the state can intervene in the rearing of pre-school children. In instances of severely limited environment, can society claim the right to remove the child from that environment? Or should society supplement the environment through small, personally-oriented residential schools?

The Working Mother. Is it crippling to the child to have the mother employed and away from home for a good part of the day? There was little agreement as to the importance of the continuous presence of the mother in the home. It was suggested that children in such situations might develop the same characteristics as children in disadvantaged homes, and, on the other hand, it was contended that the employment of the mother in itself has little or no effect on the child's development. It was also suggested that among the poor, the absence of the mother might be a benefit if it resulted in placing the child in a good day care center. That idea received unanimous endorsement from the ministers. It was also suggested that day care centers help to break patterns of mother dominance and serve as bridges to independence for children.

Powerlessness of the Poor. The sense of powerlessness among the poor and factors contributing to it also were discussed. To the suggestion that powerlessness creates the apathy of the poor, Miller responded that the individual must develop some sense of his ability to affect his environment, and must have experiences in which he can act with the assurance of gaining certain returns. One of the destructive factors in the public school systems, Miller said, is that they deprive many children of this experience by subjecting them to continuous failure.

Are there social and economic factors at work that are making fewer people feel they have the power to affect their environments and change their situations? Urbanization was suggested as one such factor. In the urban setting, it is difficult for children to find meaningful activity, proposed one member.

The Politics of Poverty

Issues central to the passage of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 were discussed by John Strange, Professor of Political Science, Duke University.

Goals in Drafting the EOA. The committee drafting the act considered the following goals:

(1) Attempt to provide a coordinating function to the government's existing attack on poverty. Much of the impetus for this came from the government's desire, prodded by the Bureau of the Budget, to become more efficient.

(2) Attempt to find new types of programs, such as the Job Corps and VISTA, that would show immediate results. In this case, the impetus came from the bureaucrats, who appreciated the difficulties of program development on a local level. There also was the appeal of being of service, particularly felt by those who had been involved in the Peace Corps. The response of volunteers in that program indicated a great untapped reservoir of idealism, especially among college students.

(3) Attempt to insure that the poor are not left out in the process. The bill included the phrase, "the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the target area involved." This single phrase has caused more trouble, been open to more interpretation and has shaped the program more than any other single part of the act. It has been interpreted as (a) a device to assure that the poor could participate, thus overcoming their sense of powerlessness, (b) a device to give the poor a voice in the actual decision-making process, even in existing federal agencies and programs, and (c) a device to allow the poor to capture parts of the local political machinery.

(4) Put together a package that could pass in Congress, help re-elect a Democratic president, and help the Democratic party keep control of the major cities.

Issues Dominating the Program. Issues dominating the program as it exists today are:

(1) Money--to what extent we will actually allocate resources. Though the program originally was announced as an unconditional war, OEO head Sargent Shriver this year (1967) refused to tell a Congressional appropriations committee how much would be needed to meet the goals of the war on poverty.

(2) Where is control to reside?

(3) How effective is the program in relation to cost?

(4) Where do we fight poverty? The urban areas have received 80 percent more of the funds than they should have received on a per capita basis.

(5) Shall the poor participate in the decision-making process?

In discussing the Green amendment to the Economic Opportunities Act, Strange said the bill would turn control of all existing programs over to local governments, limiting any participation of the poor to representation on advisory boards. The bill, he continued, had the backing of southern Democrats, who in many places, had no control over private anti-poverty agencies operating in their states, and of the existing urban Democratic machinery, which felt threatened by an anti-poverty program which had gotten beyond their control.

Open Discussion

Four questions were raised in discussion:

(1) Have the poor had any real part in the decision-making process of the program?

(2) Where does the program actually pinch the businessman and the politician?

(3) Is race always a factor in the operation of the program?

(4) How can changes in public acceptance of the program be effected?

Participation of the Poor. Strange responded that the poor have had a voice in decision making in some areas, but the degree of participation has varied greatly from one area to another.

Threats to the Power Structure. As to the threat felt by the business and political leadership, he stated that where the poor have organized, they have threatened to change the existing distribution of rewards and benefits, have raised questions that demanded change as an answer, and have spotlighted problems. Their organization means those who have received will not receive in the same proportion, those who have ruled will not rule with the same power.

Race Factor. In almost every area, in almost every program, race is a major factor, Strange said. Where the programs are not primarily Negro-oriented, they include persons of low productive capacity, rather than persons sealed off from the benefits of the system for artificial reasons not related to their abilities.

Increasing Support. The best hope for creating popular support for the program, Strange said, is the rapid inclusion of the Negro and the white poor into political decision making. To date, change has come from a dramatic confrontation in which the system was threatened.

Problems of the Cities
or
What Caused the Riots and What Are the Consequences?

Dorothy Williams, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, North Carolina State University, presented an analysis of recent Negro riots against the background of the growth history of the cities. The 1920 time period marked the first time that half of the population of the United States was classified as urban. Today, more than 39 percent of the states have at least half of their populations living in cities. Streams of migrants are continuing to flow cityward.

This migration pattern has been particularly marked among many minority groups. In 1960, 73.2 percent of the Negro population resided in urban areas, many in hopes of being able to participate more fully in the "American Dream." The presence of large masses of Negores in limited, restricted sections of urban communities is a constant source of tension, rebellion and rioting. Rioting did not originate with the Negro. According to Williams, riots are of an ancient and universal means of protesting and voicing dislike for existing patterns of living. They are usually marked by spontaneity, and those taking part in them are not always as sure of what they want as they are of what they don't want.

History of Riots in the United States. Racial riots have been a common feature of U.S. history, Williams said. Many riots, such as the riot in Springfield, Illinois, occurred in the northern part of the United States prior to 1908. Usually there is no intention on the part of the rioters to overthrow the existing political system, and the riots are something less than insurrections. The U.S. has no priority in race riots, and as the rest of the world develops in a similar urban and industrial manner, in all probability they will experience some of the same problems.

Race riots occurred during and following both World Wars, with particularly violent ones occurring in Detroit in 1942 and 1943. Root causes were the moving of large numbers of Negores into traditionally white communities and into job competition with whites. Riots today are a result of a high degree of social disorganization, physical blight, overcrowding and social depression.

Causes of Current Riots. Root causes of contemporary riots in the major cities are five:

(1) Racial image. The frustrated bottom layer of society believes that but for their race they could have risen to prosperity. They believe that they live in a racist country and are judged solely on a factor determined by birth.

(2) Ghetto living. The majority can not break out of the black slums, where life means broken homes, little education, poor housing, plus the general problems of city-living.

(3) Inferior education. Schools in the slum areas are inefficient and deteriorating, in some areas equipping the child to do little more than receive aid from welfare.

(4) Police brutality and disrespect.

(5) The frustration of unemployment and a feeling of alienation from society.

Consequences of Riots. Williams listed the following consequences of the riots:

(1) A focus on ending the riots rather than on treating the causes.

(2) The model cities program.

(3) A national drive for job training programs.

(4) Changing attitudes toward Negroes, with city leadership groups meeting with Negroes to build a better climate of understanding.

As an example of approaches toward riot prevention, she summarized the recommendations of the McCone commission, made after a study of the riots in Watts district of Los Angeles.

In conclusion, she termed riots the awkward, primitive weapon of those barred from using more sophisticated methods of bringing about change. A real danger in using the weapon, she added, is that white liberals may turn conservative in the face of violence.

Open Discussion

The ministry of the church in Watts prior to the riots, and the prospects of racial violence in the South, particularly in North Carolina, were central to much of the discussion.

The Church in Watts. What was the ministry of the church in Watts? Watts churches, Williams said, suffered from ineffectiveness, a lack of involvement in the living issues of today.

Riots in the South. Answering questions about the prospects of violence in North Carolina, she said she does not foresee any large riots in the South. In North Carolina in particular, she said, both Negroes and whites still feel hope that progress can be made. In addition, there is no militant leadership among Negroes in North Carolina cities.

Who Are the Rioters? With several ministers from Winston-Salem participating, further discussion centered on the riots in that city and the nature of the rioters. According to one minister, the Negro community in Winston-Salem contains a large element of young men for whom life ceased to hold any promise after they reached age 15. They have no relationships with any other groups in the community, and they have nothing to gain or to lose through violence. How can this group be reached. They have, in a sense become untouchable. The middle class Negro has lost touch with them. Intensive job training programs, aimed specifically at this group, were recommended as the best hope.

Are these young people really a different group from the sit-in demonstrators, or are they the same people with different attitudes? According to a sit-in leader from Winston-Salem, the first demonstrators primarily were college students with specific attainable goals in mind, while the recent rioters were wreckers, followed by looters.

Can They be Reached? Can a case be made to them that their attitudes toward the system are unrealistic? No, according to a Negro minister from Winston-Salem. Negro leadership is having the ground cut out from under it by a power structure which fails to follow through on its promises to them. The lesson has not been lost on the young.

If the opportunity for political action were open to this group, would it appeal to them? Probably to a proportionately high number, according to Strange, for they are basically activists.

Open Panel Discussion

Multiplicity of Values. In an effort to refocus the thinking of the participants and summarize the seminar topics, Jerry West opened the panel discussion. He referred to the concepts of beliefs and values, or what is and what ought to be, as used in "The American Dilemma." There are a variety of values, and they are not always obtainable simultaneously, West pointed out. To achieve one, part of another must be sacrificed.

While the minister tends to have one specific goal, and is therefore less concerned with conflicting values, the social scientist is particularly concerned with assessing and weighing costs and benefits. Much of the social scientist's work is defining what is. And as what is fails to correspond with what ought to be, problems are recognized.

What Role for the Church? But what is the role of the church in this complexity of problems, he asked the ministers. Can the church work most effectively in refining beliefs, in asserting neglected values or in developing programs?

His questions brought into focus a basic division of opinion over the nature of the church itself. And one minister's assertion that the church as an institution can play no role in economic problems was hotly debated. Is the church an institution or is it individually the church in the world. Is each man the church?

Who Sets Goals? The questions of who will set the goals of society and how they will set them brought out some resentment of the withdrawal of social scientists from this area of responsibility. Does the social scientist actually escape the responsibility of determining values, and does he have the right to do so? John Strange, stating that society at this time has no basic agreement on its values and goals, charged that social scientists have escaped by saying value judgments are irrelevant to their work. By so doing, he said, they have in fact made a value judgment, underwriting the status quo by failing to articulate value judgments they have made on a private and personal, but at the same time, professional, basis.

Maddox contended that the role of the social scientist is to determine how to reach a set of goals, once they have been established. By analyzing the costs and benefits of various methods, he attempts to guide the decision makers toward the most effective means of reaching specific goals. Another stated his responsibility as explaining the dynamics of what is so that larger groups in society might build a framework for what ought to be. As people become more conscious of the roles they play, they become more capable of playing new roles.

When one minister agreed that the discussions were making it less easy to be clear-cut and certain in his present beliefs and values, he was challenged: Does this push him to action or does it merely influence him to preach another sermon? His answer expressed a frustration felt throughout the seminar: "I want to outline what we can do about changing the situation." This drive for a specific course of action, outlined and agreed upon, was basic with most of the participants.

Compassion and the Market System. The discussion then moved to the nature of compassion. Does it have a place in the economic system? The rejection by social scientists of compassion as an agent in the workings of the economic system disturbed several of the ministers. Is compassion the province of the church, or is it the duty of society?

Can the Church Attack the System? Debate on this question led to further argument on the nature of the church. Is it an institution devoted to the spiritual welfare of the individual alone, or does it have a responsibility for the material welfare of society as a whole? The argument that the church must essentially deal with the individual, playing a compassionate role, thus enabling the individual to act for structural change in society, was countered by the argument that the church must take a stance for full and active participation in life.

According to a Negro minister, the only church in the South capable of attacking the systems, both political and economic, is the Negro church. The white church must continue to work with individuals, for it is made up of the beneficiaries and advocates of the existing system. His assertion renewed contention over separation of the individual from the group. Is such separation possible, or is it an artificial device?

Should the Church Play Power Politics? Should the church enter into the area of politics? Should it learn the strategies and tactics of political organizations? One social scientist charged that the church has been asleep in these areas and has failed to take advantage of the self-interest that exists to get things done in the area of social welfare. An appeal to self-interest was cited as one method of interesting the suburban church in the ghettoes. And while one minister agreed, saying that the church should recognize the facts of power politics and work to effect change, his view was not representative.

Specific Ideas for Change. When ministers were polled for ideas on specific approaches to effect social and economic change, there was little response. As one minister said, "We want you (the social scientists) to preach us a sermon on what you think we ought to do." One specific action suggested was a direct involvement in open housing, promoting its location in suburban areas and using the church membership to cool neighborhood reaction to its location there. While some were interested in the suggestion, others stated that such an involvement would alienate the church members and destroy the effectiveness of the minister. It was suggested that a move should be made to unify ministers before involving whole congregations.

Responsibilities for Alleviating Poverty

E. Walton Jones, Field Director, Coastal Plains Regional Commission, opened his presentation on the responsibilities for the alleviation of poverty by underlining the dichotomy that exists across the country: Individual responsibility versus the responsibility of the system. Saying that he sees few taking a stand in the middle ground, he called the positions of the extremes ridiculous.

Economic Justice. Our society has operated on two forms of economic justice:

(1) commutative justice in which each receives according to what he contributes, and

(2) distributive justice in which each has equal opportunity to participate, to contribute and to develop to his capacities.

"Why is the system breaking down?" he asked the group. Why do we have poverty?

School Systems. Citing education as one instrument we look to to fulfill the promise of equal opportunity, he argued that even in that area we have not provided equal access. The public school systems do not make up the difference between the deprived and the advantaged child; they do not perform to strike a balance. Going beyond the area of simple equality, he added that what happens outside the school is more important than what happens inside, and that the schools should function not to be equal, one to another, but to be adapted to the needs and backgrounds of their students. He blamed the failures of the public school system more on a lack of understanding than on a lack of money.

On the level of higher education, Jones stressed that higher education has been geared for the perpetuation of higher income among the few.

Whose Responsibility? Whose responsibility is it to see that distributive justice is upheld? According to Jones, it is every man's responsibility to examine the system, to see where changes should be made. "I hate to see us decide that the system is all bad and throw it out, or to see us say that because it has worked so well, we'll just let it rock on," he said.

The Slum Landlord. In a more specific area, he examined the role of the slum landlord. In defense of the group he asked: If slum housing is such a good deal, why isn't there more competition for this market? Is it a matter of status? Should more pressure be put on the slum landlord or is he already a scapegoat? Slum housing often is merely a holding operation, according to Jones, and because no housing is available in the middle market, the Negro is trapped both racially and financially in the slum areas.

This question of low profit in the slum housing market was debated at length by the ministers. Several believe that the investment must be lucrative, else it would disappear. The heavy entry of the federal government into low cost housing was pointed out as one proof that it offers little return on investment.

Discussion

Churches and Public Housing. Allusions to opportunities for the churches as cooperating agencies with the federal government in building open low cost housing prompted debate over whether the church should become an acting agent or an educational agent preparing the way for further government efforts in the field of housing and for acceptance of the tenants of such housing. Some specifics of the Public Housing Act and the rent supplement program were spelled out. One minister stated: "We need initiators to get the church to work, not people who simply say we ought to do something. We need to have the specifics spelled out." And another countered that in the majority of southern churches, a simple feed-in of information would be a great leap forward. The educational aspect, he felt, should not be underplayed.

Define Beliefs. The church has a mission of making more people conscious of what they believe, and must prepare them mentally to make choices in line with those beliefs suggested one minister, while another urged efforts to develop cultural contacts among the races. Along this line, field trip education was advocated as a method of bringing the church and its members to act their way into new lines of thought.

Jones summed up: The solution to poverty rests largely on government action, but effective government action can't take place until citizens understand the basic issues and permit such action to be taken. The church can be of tremendous help in bringing about such understanding.

SEMINAR III

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

The third seminar was devoted to a study of the decision-making process in the local community--who the decision makers are, how they operate in making decisions, by what means they are or can be influenced. In addition to formal presentations by seminar staff members and guest lecturers, participating ministers presented information gathered on their home area.

Don Shriver, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Religion, North Carolina State University, opened the seminar topic explaining the two-day study would be concerned with "power, decisions and values and the interrelation of these three elements." Discussion, he said, should move from a study of structures of power in urban and rural North Carolina to the limitations imposed by values, beliefs and goals on those power structures.

The Structure and Dynamics of Power in North Carolina Cities

A case study of city politics, based on experiences in Durham, was presented by William R. Pursell, Special Consultant to the Executive Director of the North Carolina Fund and former Director of Operation Breakthrough in Durham. Pursell also is ordained as a Baptist minister. Following is a condensation of his discussion.

This discussion is based not on detailed research but on six years of personal observations of, and involvement in, the civic and political life of one urban area in the State of North Carolina. I am convinced, however, both from personal observations and conversations with people from cities across the state and nation that this one city, though unique in many respects, is also more typical than atypical. For the problems facing Durham are different only in location, not in kind, from the problems facing New Bern, Boone, Elizabeth City, Charlotte, Chicago, Detroit and Jackson, Mississippi.

Creative Approaches Needed. The ostrich approach to civil ills will no longer suffice. The paternalism of the plantation-run city can no longer be the rule rather than the exception. Creative approaches to contemporary problems must be the concern of all citizens or Durham of 1968 could be a Plainfield, N. J. of 1967; Charlotte of 1968 could be a Detroit of 1967; New Bern of 1968 could be a Winston-Salem of 1967.

To appeal to a sense of justice from those who have known nothing but injustice is to shout into a hurricane that it must stop its destructive winds. I must insist that the comfortable must be shaken loose from their comfort and forced to deal constructively with the problems of our society.

Bases of Unrest. What is the basis of the unrest in North Carolina cities and cities across the nation? To say that there is *a* basis would be a criminal over-simplification. There are bases. One, but only one, of them is found in the decision-making process in our towns and cities. The poor, especially the Negro poor, are demanding what is rightfully theirs, a stake in "the American dream," the right to have a voice in the determination of their own personal and collective destinies.

Have they, the poor, not had the right to be so involved? Theoretically, they most certainly have, for the written guarantees are there. Practically, however, they have not. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by a look at a city and the dynamics of its decision-making process.

Ill-Defined Power Structures. One of the first things one notices as he becomes familiar with the city of Durham is that it is ruled not by an easily described and defined "power structure" but by ill-defined "power structures."

(1) There are the old families, those whose fortunes and influence were forged and shaped one or two generations ago. Their influence in the city is not as directly demonstrative as it was 50 years ago. Often they speak through their sons and daughters or those who are directly responsible to them.

(2) There are the white professionals--bankers, doctors, educators. With the exceptions of a small colony of liberals in the Duke University community, most of the professional people are conservative in political philosophy and activity.

(3) Present, also, are the power structures in the Negro community. Durham is perhaps unique in the number of wealthy Negro professional

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citizens. These Negro professionals have been the leaders in the Negro community in the past.

(4) Finally, there is emerging a new power structure in the Negro community composed of young, more militant Negroes proud of their race and determined to make the future better for themselves and their children.

Structure in Flux. To make a prediction regarding the relationships within any of these structures at any given time and on any given question would be disastrous, for these structures are in a constant state of flux and change depending upon the particular problem or question facing the community at a particular point in time. This can best be illustrated by tracing the political history of the city since 1948.

Rule of Tradition. In 1948 a change in the political structure took place in the city. The city council prior to 1948 has been characterized as an "anti-people" council. Concern for established institutions and the traditional ruling structure of the monied community dictated the decisions of the council and the whole Democratic party in the county.

Negroes were allowed to register and vote, but only at the courthouse on Main Street. This served two purposes: (1) It discouraged Negro voting by making it as difficult as possible for Negroes in outlying districts of the city to get to the polls. Once there, they were required to stand in long lines along Main Street waiting for the opportunity of voting. (2) It also served as a means of mobilizing unconcerned whites who, seeing this display of Negro voters, became more anxious to get to their polls and vote.

Registration books, while open to Negroes, were open only for short periods of time. While the law allows great freedom on the part of party registrars, this freedom was used primarily to keep the number of Negroes registered to a minimum.

Labor-Negro-Liberal Coalition Takes Over. Forces were at work to alter this situation. A coalition of leaders in the labor movement, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, and liberal members of the Duke community were working to take over the Democratic party within the county. By a surprise show of force at a meeting of the precincts, control of the county Democratic party was seized.

Results of this take-over were far reaching. Most immediate was a relocation of polling places into the Negro community and easier access to the registration books. The results began to appear later in the persons elected to public office. The city council became concerned with the rights of people, particularly the rights of the common man, and so it continued until 1954.

Split over 1954 Integration Decisions. In 1954 the Supreme Court decision on school integration was rendered and things began again to change. Those who had been in power prior to 1948 began to use this decision as a wedge into the liberal coalition, dividing the labor movement within itself and alienating it as a whole from the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. Control of the county Democratic party again changed hands; conservatism entered the picture and remains in control to this day.

Signs of Liberal Revival. However, the liberal viewpoint is not dead in Durham. The recent strike of American Tobacco Company workers was the first concerted effort on the part of labor in the city and may result in revival of the labor-Negro-liberal coalition. Negro and white workers at American united, and support for the strike from the Negro community was great. As part of its strategy, the union requested that the city council enact an ordinance prohibiting the use of strike-breakers. The refusal to enact such an ordinance solidified the labor forces, both white and Negro, for the first time in 10 years. It also brought forth support from liberal forces within the city. The strike and the results of the action of the city council have the potential of becoming the cause behind which the liberal forces of the city can be reunited.

Absentee Industrial Ownership. In addition to the various structures within the city, strong influence on the decision-making process determining the life of the city is exerted by absentee ownership. Most of the major industries, especially the tobacco companies, are controlled by individuals and interests outside the local community. Commitments made to those interests have precedence over local concerns, and local decisions are often made outside the state by people who are not citizens of the city. A leading citizen of Durham maintains that a certain candidate for office in Durham several years ago promised the management of leading industries that, if elected, he would guarantee a constant labor force of considerable size which would be willing to work for 65 cents to 75 cents an hour. One of the results: Programs for training unemployed and underemployed people in Durham have had difficulties in being implemented. They require the payment of the minimum wage and greatly reduce the number of those whose education and training retain them at poverty levels, willing to work for poverty wages.

Vested Interest in Poverty. Finally, another characteristic of the city which plays a vital role in the decision-making process, is the fact that, in Durham as in all other cities, there are those who have a vested interest in retaining poverty. These interests are those who, in addition to increasing their profit by the employment of cheap labor, deal in slum housing, high interest rates, and over-priced goods and services. Investments in slum housing which have been written off the tax books years ago and which have little or no upkeep expense attached, interest rates and carrying charges which are reported to be 1 percent but are actually 12 to 18 percent, and goods which in slum stores are far more expensive than in supermarkets outside the slums, are all dependent upon poverty for existence.

Control of the decision-making process can, when effective, reduce the possibility of minimum housing code enforcement, contain segments of the population within certain areas of the city, and provide a supply of customers who must borrow from loan sharks and purchase goods and services at high rates of interest. Durham's poor, one-third of her population and mostly Negro, are without effective voice in the decision-making process and are virtually powerless in bringing about effective change.

The right of each man to have a say in the determination of his destiny is an inherent part of the American way of life. Frustrations resulting from denial of this right were certainly partly involved in the demands made by Durham's Negro poor during the summer of 1967. Two years of "going through proper channels" had altered nothing. Landlords still refused to fix leaking roofs, cover holes in floors, replace broken windows or install bathtubs. Minimum housing laws remained unenforced. Hiring procedures were still discriminatory.

Opposition to Change. To forestall disaster such as that experienced in Detroit and elsewhere this past summer, what must happen? Change must take place, now, before the fact. And this is never easy. George Esser, Executive Director of the North Carolina Fund, in a recent speech in New Orleans, quoted Machiavelli, when he said, "There is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to handle than to initiate a new order of things." Dangerous though it is, it must be done.

Riot Control Not Enough. How reluctant the decision-makers are to deal creatively with change has been brought home rather forcefully to me recently. Over the past two months I have traveled to Trenton, Newark, and Plainfield, N. J., to interview residents and public officials on both local and state levels regarding those factors which resulted in riots last summer. When the subject of programs of riot prevention arose, the ready response was "police training"--making certain that police are equipped with gas masks as well as gas and that they have access to fire hoses when needed--emergency planning for medical services and supply of food, etc.

Such planning toward riot control, while a necessity, is certainly not enough. The real problems of health, housing, education, employment, and community services must become the concern. This is preventive medicine. The poor, especially the Negro poor, must become a constructive part of the system of decision making.

Recommendations for Change. How can this be done? I would commend to you the speech made by Mr. Esser in New Orleans. He made specific recommendations, all of which are worthy of serious consideration: (1) reinstatement of human freedom and human dignity and genuine justice as major goals in American society; (2) increasing the representativeness of policy-making bodies; (3) adoption of advocacy planning for the poor; (4) encouragement of the growth and development of strong stable neighborhood interest groups; (5) stimulation of the advocacy of meaningful policy choices; and (6) searching for and participating in expanded resources to apply to the problems of our day.

These, as a minimum, must be first steps toward solution.

Discussion

Pursell's presentation drew lengthy discussion, perhaps because it dealt with the more familiar level of local government and because much of the history of Durham could be related directly to the home communities of the participants. Most of the discussion involved the politics of poverty, slum housing, the effectiveness of OEO programs in Durham and the future of the OEO under the Green Amendment.

The OEO and the Poor White. Is the poor white in Durham involved with OEO programs? Operation Breakthrough periodically has made efforts to work with poor whites, according to Pursell. And a program in a specific neighborhood of poor whites has had some success in constructing a playground for children and in finding jobs for the unemployed. But the poor white is more mobile than the Negro, a fact hampering any continuing program.

Is the poor white actually resistant to the OEO programs? According to Pursell, the general identification of the program with the Negro has made the poor white hesitant to become involved. His prejudice may take precedence over his needs. An additional factor is the lack of organization or cohesiveness among poor whites. Civil rights has served as a rallying cause for the Negro, whether he be poor or not.

Does the stigma attached to the word poverty also act to prevent participation by poor whites? While Pursell agreed that the poverty level might now act to the detriment of the program, he argued that the label initially was needed as a strong statement to motivate public involvement. The language of the program is beginning to change, he said.

Federal-Local Relations in the OEO. Is local government more willing to take a creative approach in abolishing poverty than state government? One participant cited the number of cities dealing directly with Washington in OEO efforts as an indication of this. According to Pursell, this is not a valid judgment. The OEO program is so designed that there is no necessity for involvement of the state or even of local governments. Local programs may be presented directly to Washington and funded directly from Washington. The Green Amendment, however, may make major alterations in this arrangement. Under the amendment, local governments probably will be able to say whether or not there will be a program in their jurisdiction.

Slums and Public Housing in Durham. Are there any signs of improvement in Durham's situation in regard to absentee industrial ownership and in regard to continuation of vested interests in poverty? Some change for the better has been noted in the former, none in the latter, Pursell said. Enforcement of the minimum housing code has been placed in the hands of those who profit from the continuation of the slum.

The argument that slum housing is not the profit maker it is represented as being was put to the speaker. Refusing to accept this argument. Pursell noted that slum landlords of his acquaintance are astute businessmen. From the standpoint of taxes and cost of upkeep, any rent received is pure gravy, Pursell said. Construction of new housing in a slum area certainly would not be profitable, he agreed, but ownership of old houses is not a low profit business.

Asked about the public housing situation, Pursell said the program is excellent so far as putting good roofs over heads is concerned, but that all of the available programs, such as the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) program, are not being tapped.

Who Profits from Poverty? Who, besides the slum landlord, profits from keeping large nubers of people in poverty? Pursell listed slum businesses, such as grocery and furniture stores. While risks are high and the businesses are difficult to operate and maintain, the fact remains that the merchant has a captive market. He is able to command higher prices as well as large credit charges over long periods of time.

Maintenance of a large cheap labor force is a factor for much of the industry in this area, particularly the tobacco industry, he said.

Politics and the OEO. If the nub of the problem is getting political power into the hands of the poor, how far can federally-funded, anti-poverty agencies go in encouraging or directing political involvement? No employee of a federally-funded agency can be involved in any way in partisan politics, Pursell stated. While an employee might belong to the Young Democrats, as an example, he could not hold office in the club or back any candidate. Until recently, there have been no rules regarding non-partisan politics, leaving employees free to act in many municipal elections. Regulations now are being drawn. To date, it has been legitimate for OEO staff to organize non-partisan neighborhood councils which in turn have become active in seeking political power and influence.

In a partisan election, OEO staff have been allowed to conduct voter education programs and voter registration drives. Further interpretation of the Green Amendment may prohibit these activities.

Advocacy Groups. One minister expressed an interest in organizing a group similar to the United Forces for Education, mobilizing people whose function would be advocacy of poverty programs. In San Francisco, semi-political volunteers or paid professionals have been brought in by the poor to help them establish their rights, it was noted. Pursell reminded the group that one real danger of an advocacy group is a professional takeover in which those most directly involved cease to be a part of the effort.

Need for Independent Leaders. While agreeing to the danger of takeover, one participant argued that a major problem in political activity among the poor is the dearth of independent leaders. The Negro minister was cited as one of the few men who could not be reached and pressured by business or propertied interests. Speaking on his experiences in Durham, Pursell said that while many in the Negro slum areas had become active and involved, there had been few instances of resulting pressures from white employers. The protection of organized labor unions and sizable corps of wealthy Negroes providing avenues of employment might account for this lack of direct pressure, he said.

Poor Have Much to Lose. Do the poor actually have the right to play a major role in decision making? One minister argued that the man who has the greater financial investment in business and society runs the higher risk, has more to lose from unfavorable decisions by local government, and should, therefore, have a greater voice in the making of those decisions. "I think it's unrealistic to think that decision making should be put in the hands of those who have nothing to lose," he said. Pursell countered that municipal decisions are high-risk decisions for the poor, perhaps to a greater degree than for the well-to-do. As they live, at best, a marginal existence, decisions affecting that existence are crucial.

Would not the poor be extremely selfish in their decisions? Is not the man of property more able to look after his own interests and the interests of others as well? Pursell minimized the value of unselfishness in making municipal decisions. By broadening the base of those having a voice in the decision making, by obtaining a true cross section of interests, the interests of the general public can best be protected, he claimed.

Green Amendment and the Future of the OEO. Assuming the Green Amendment has been interpreted as it appears on its face (i.e., county commissioners or city councilmen will determine what anti-poverty programs will be operated within their jurisdictions), what future can the OEO agencies expect? In certain areas, such an interpretation will mean the death of the agency, according to Pursell. Programs in manpower development, Head Start projects, Neighborhood Youth Corps and consumer education programs should continue without a great deal of trouble. Neighborhood councils should have a difficult time surviving, particularly those showing any signs of effectiveness.

In a city like Durham, what allies can the OEO look to for aid in maintaining the whole program? Organized labor, the liberal community within Duke University, and the League of Women Voters would be major sources of aid, according to Pursell. Help also could be expected from private foundations active in the field of alleviating poverty.

Aid from the Church. Are the churches in Durham relating to the anti-poverty program? The Negro churches are active, and some support has come from white ministers on an individual basis, according to Pursell. Is it more desirable that the church become active in the anit-poverty program through official acts as an institution, or can greater gains be expected from participation of individual members? According to Pursell, involvement of the members is involvement of the church. "That involvement is better than official action, if we must choose," he said, "but the support of the institution is drastically needed."

Aid from Labor. What indications are there that the unanimity of whites and Negroes in the American Tobacco Company strike will carry over to the poverty program? Negro committees and individuals not directly involved in the strike, including one college professor who serves on the city council, contributed influence and/or sizable donations to the strikers, Pursell said. Statements of Negro and white unanimity within labor were made before the city council when the union sought an ordinance prohibiting strike-breakers. Since that time, quiet organization has been going on to show that the bond of poverty overrides racial differences.

The Structure and Dynamics of Power in Rural North Carolina

The Rev. W. Judson King, Minister in the United Church of Christ, Enfield, North Carolina, and a Negro ordained in the Congregational Church, discussed the power structure in rural eastern North Carolina. His discussion was based on years of experience working with Negro farmers, both tenants and independents, in an 11-county area around Halifax County.

Couched in the language of the area and described with some humor, the rural power structure was particularly vivid and alive in the Rev. King's presentation. Participating ministers later rated it as one of the most effective discussions of the seminar series.

"I want to stress that I'm going to be talking about good people, as nice a bunch of fellows as you'd want to meet," King said. "But when the man near the top gets back to the system, or the system gets back to him, you have a different sort of thing."

Men at the Top. The white power structure in the area was described as a pyramid with a mobile apex. The man at the top one day might not be the man at the top the next, particularly if he is faced with a threatening situation. This mobility serves to keep off guard those who demand action from the white power structure.

Present a Solid Front. While divisions in the power structure do occur, as any threat becomes apparent the ranks close. Threats come from labor and from color (upward efforts of the Negroes). "And when those two combine, you do have a dynamic situation," King said. Threats to the power structure produce not only a closing of the ranks, they also produce action. "They [white leaders] communicate; they specialize in communication--the mass media, the churches, the clubs, the civic organization."

Gloved Fist and Mailed Fist. In answering demands from Negro labor, the power structure used either a gloved fist (veiled threats of economic reprisal) or a mailed fist (the constabulary). The effectiveness of the first method makes use of the second method rare. The Negro tenant, possessing a fourth-grade education, little or no savings, and no salable skills beyond farm labor, is easily intimidated. He can be boycotted by all landowners in the area.

"Policy is handed down, it never moves in the other direction," he said. "And if a fellow doesn't go along, he can be punished in a lot of ways."

Ministers and the Power Structure. In a semi-feudal area such as this, where power is tied directly to the amount of land owned, the minister is nowhere near the apex, according to King. "There's no use looking there for help. The Negro minister isn't there, and the white minister is intimidated, circumscribed."

The Handlers. Characteristic of the power structure is its system of handlers. Certain members are experts at handling other members, another group is expert at handling county officials, including the constabulary, and another group is expert at handling Negroes. This last group can rely on persuasion, money or the law enforcement apparatus. Growth and maintenance of the power structure's status is the principal preoccupation of those near the top. Not only can they rely on their handlers, but they have other levels of support, such as county government.

The Negro Power Structure. King described the Negro community as a much smaller pyramid, somewhere below the larger white pyramid, and usually overlapping it to some degree with apex of the smaller pyramid contained somewhere in the base of the larger. This common ground is an assigned functioning area between the two groups and includes action on schools and fund raising drives.

"When you have a young, ambitious politician, he starts moving the little pyramid around at election time," King said. "The tragedy is that our leaders are picked for us by the white community. We have a hard time just picking our own leaders."

The Negro minister is not an effective leader, according to King. "We have a built-in competitive attitude. We're more concerned with trying to build up our own church than we are with trying to build up the community."

Knowledge and Power. Those at the top of the white power structure know how to maneuver, how to weight compromises and how to channel certain activities so that they reap the rewards and gain the advantages 5 or 10 years later, King said. Their only fear is that some outside, unexpected force may upset the well-balanced applecart. At the lower levels, particularly among tenants and small independent farmers, this knowledge doesn't exist. Their major fear is that change will make a bad situation worse.

Docility or Black Power. Negroes are responding to this situation in two ways, according to King. Older men have lost confidence in change and expect repressive tolerance as a reward for docility. Younger men are sure that the usual means of redress are bankrupt and see little hope except through direct action. They are moving from "aggressively passive" action to black power. "They are sure no group of haves is good enough to give power to the have nots. They want uncompromising self-assertion. Men have gotten fighting mad in the country and gone to the cities to riot." he said.

The White Answer. The power structure's answer to the growing unrest has been order above justice, according to King. He cited as an example the fact that one county suspends its food stamp program during tobacco harvest season.

He concluded with a brief history of Franklinton Center, supported by the United Church of Christ as a Conference Center, and listed several of its programs designed to aid the Negro farmer including a credit union, a harvesting cooperative and an industrial development corporation.

Discussion

Questions following the presentation centered around the role of the Negro minister, the role of the Negro middle class and methods of approaching the white community.

Negro Middle Class. Is there a middle class group among the Negro farmers? While a group of small independent farmers does exist, according to King, they are finding themselves in a bad financial situation, with tobacco allotments slowly being reduced. Those in the area are becoming discouraged about future prospects. The middle class Negro farmer is not comparable to the white middle class farmer in income or status, he continued. Those who do succeed often are "pets" of someone in the white power structure.

Black Power in the Rural Area. One minister expressed surprise at a reference to black power in the area. According to the speaker, a fair size group of young Negro men in the rural area are black power advocates. Many of them live in surrounding towns, he said, but work on the farms.

How Does Church Serve? How does the church serve the sharecropper? The churches usually are located on white farmlands, obligating the minister and congregation to the interests of the land owner. In addition, the minister often serves four or five churches in an area with a radius of as much as 100 miles. The minister draws his salary from special offerings, to which the white landowner may contribute. "The Negro church in the rural area is not going to do much for a long time," King said. "In some areas, it has been a real hindrance. The people were poor and we've made them poorer."

No Place to Hide. How is the position of the rural Negro basically different from that of the urban Negro? "In the city you can hide in the crowd; in the country you can't hide," King said. "You're wide open all the time. This has a drastic effect on voter registration and school integration," he continued. Those who do register may be intimidated into not voting. Parents may be persuaded to withdraw their children from predominantly white schools.

A Negro minister from an urban area cited apathy as a major negative force among urban Negroes, suggesting that perhaps intimidation is the less damaging of the two. It was suggested that urban Negroes perhaps also are pressured and issued veiled threats by white employers, but the majority of the group did not agree.

Friends among the Whites. Do the rural Negroes have friends among their white neighbors? Those friends to the Negro cause that do exist are anonymous friends, King said. "The young come back with ideas, but the establishment soon gets a handle on him through his family or through his career."

Approaches to White Power. To illustrate the concentration of power within the Franklinton Center area, King told the group that the 11 counties in reality are run by 25 people who hold power and influence not only in the 11 counties, but also in the state capital and in Washington. How can these men be approached by Negro leadership? Anyone who does approach the white power structure with plans or demands for change must be willing to take serious risks, he said. (1) One effective approach is to get the facts, then let it be known that you have them, and wait. A direct confrontation or publication tending to embarrass the white power structure usually backfires. (2) Several members of the group can be flattered into taking favorable action. (3) Members of the lower echelons of the white power structure often can be favorably influenced through trade. (4) The Negro community can be better structured, as much for education as for action.

Economic Beachheads. Franklinton Center now is engaged in establishing economic beachheads in other areas of the country, King said. Workers are oriented, then placed in particular jobs in cities. As other jobs come open, they send for more Negroes from the home area to fill them. Such beachheads have been established in Philadelphia, New Haven, Baltimore, Norfolk-Portsmouth, and Seattle. How does the white community react to such out-migration? "They don't seem to care. You get the impression they're trying to drive them out."

Pressure Upon Governments: Citizen Groups as Lobbies

Abraham Holtzman, Professor of Politics at North Carolina State University, spoke on bringing pressure upon government, or citizens groups as lobbies. As an example of how private associations can be effective in influencing policy on the local level, he cited the history of the fluoridation battle in the city of Raleigh.

The Quite Approach. The idea of adding fluorides to city water supplies in an effort to improve dental health originally was presented to the city council by the area dentists. Because the group felt the idea was beneficial and sound, and because they were presenting it as an organized and informed professional scientific group, the dentists expected no opposition.

When they arrived at the scheduled public hearing on the proposal, they were met by 100 vociferous opponents who charged everything from government violation of private rights to communism. The motion was tabled.

The Mobilization Approach. The idea remained mercifully dead for four years, until it became a project of the Junior Woman's Club. The young women were receiving disturbing reports from dentists about the condition of their children's teeth, and they were reading of the success of fluoridation in other areas. They mapped out their plans, secured the endorsement of all major civic clubs in the city, then organized their forces in all of the city's precincts. They were able, through this preliminary work, to secure an initiative referendum and to carry the question. Their plan of action was based on a certain knowledge that the city council, on its own, would not act favorably on so controversial a question.

The Silent Approach. As a further example, Holtzman cited the recent library tax vote in Wake County. In an effort to make the library system truly county-wide and to improve the materials and services of the library, the board asked the county commissioners to call for a tax referendum. When the county board refused to act, signatures were secured and the referendum was called by petition. Having achieved this success, the library board decided to "lay low," counting on their friends to show up at the polls while their enemies were lulled into forgetfulness. In a deadly combination, the county sent out notices of increased property valuations for tax purposes, and opponents of the library expansion plan launched a last day blitz campaign of radio announcements. The announcements stated that approval of the referendum would mean higher taxes, and did not explain that a favorable vote would give the county board authority to levy an additional tax should they so desire. The referendum was soundly defeated.

Axioms for Reform Groups. Using these examples, Holtzman listed eight major guidelines for citizens groups seeking to influence or change public policy on the local level:

(1) Organization, in itself, does not always lead to victory.

(2) Organization is almost always sine qus non--you may not win with it, but you can not win without it. Organization endows any effort at policy change with:

- a. money
- b. membership and workers
- c. a broad base of support
- d. respectability. Middle class Americans are used to joining groups. And though they don't like change, particularly government change, they can accept it as an aim of a responsible group.

(3) The squeaky wheel gets greased primarily because the politician is insecure and reacts quickly to criticism. This is particularly true if he feels there is any popular support for the criticism.

(4) Any reform that permits itself to be trapped in the parameter of a tax increase is in trouble.

(5) Bad timing can be disastrous, no matter the merits of the question.

(6) Identification with a political party in a municipal question is dangerous. Party labels are not particularly meaningful in local issues. But if an issue gets tied to a political party, it immediately runs the risk of losing the support of the majority of members of the other party. Party membership normally is inherited within a family and carries deep emotional and psychological meanings.

(7) Every individual belongs to some group. The more a reform effort is kept outside the context of a challenge to any other group, the safer its passage. Potential supporters should

not be put in a situation of choosing between their group loyalities. And the purer the goal of the reform, the less it challenges these group allegiances.

(8) The importance of public opinion can not be ignored, except at the cost of defeat. To the extent that a reform group can shape public opinion, or appear to shape it, they move the politician. The larger the community, the more true is this axiom.

Handling the Politician. Politicians respond to petitions, to appearances at public hearings, and to letters--particularly letters from people they know and trust. Vituperative letters get little results for the simple reason that people with "muscle" don't need to be vituperative. In order to influence a politician, an individual or group must first make a genuine effort to see the question from that politician's particular point of view. If they are successful in this effort, they are more likely to have success in finding the right approach to move him from his position. If they can offer him a rationalization for his action, they are a long way toward victory. In this effort, they have a major weapon. The politician fears that he is out of contact with the different levels of his constituency.

Pressure from Above. Reform groups may be able to enlist aid from the federal government. The extent to which they can bring pressure from the federal level down to the local level is a leverage they could effectively use. The federal government may be willing to act on the merits of the reform, or it may be willing to lend support in exchange for the reform groups support at some later date.

Public Protest Demonstrations. One final way to seeking change, and a popular one in the past few years, is taking to the streets in demonstrations. This method has the great advantage of popularizing issues and focusing public attention, but it is "loaded with dynamite," Holtzman said.

In summary, Holtzman said that reform groups tend to be weak in organization and in mobilizing public opinion, and that they tend to overrate and underrate the politician at the same time. He also underlined the importance of the aura of respectability in any reform effort.

Discussion

The central question of the discussion period was: To what extent can the church play power politics?

The Uncommitted Candidate. Because of the great financial support that must be gathered, have we reached the stage where an uncommitted candidate can not mount a successful campaign? According to Holtzman, we have. But he stressed that commitments to financial backers often are vague. The backer must seek no more than a friendly ear when he needs it, a voice to get the attention of the bureaucracy, or a person of similar viewpoint in power. The candidate, on the other hand, must have a sound financial base to win. In an age when politics is very much involved with image and personality identification, the candidate must buy expensive television time in addition to his office, mailing and printing advertisement costs.

Church and Power Politics. Has the church deluded itself by refusing to recognize the facts of power politics, of partisan politics, of the art of compromise? Stating that "Groups seem to have no effect unless they are willing to get out on a limb," one minister asked if the church should get into power politics. To do so might easily destroy the church, Holtzman said. Should the church enter power politics, it would challenge the basic emotional loyalties of its members.

The Minister and Politics. What about the minister, acting on a personal basis, perhaps on the precinct level? He would have to feel his own way to avoid dangerous ground, according to Holtzman. The minister might find he has a fair amount of influence, he said, particularly in the South.

Speaking for the Negro church, one minister said, "We hope our salvation is in greater participation in the political process." The Negro church, he said, is learning and turning to the techniques of block votes, single shot votes, second primary compromises, and, as a church, is building power groups.

Open Housing. Speaking of efforts within some churches and among some ministers to promote open housing, one participant said, "We're dealing with areas that can't gain the aura of community respectability.

Perhaps we need to have the losing candidate who is willing to work for the long gain." Those who talk of open housing in the South really are talking of long-range goals, according to Holtzman. Such a goal will involve years of reshaping attitudes.

What about the shorter range goal of adequate housing for all citizens? The real dent in ending slum housing will come when the United States can end its heavy commitment in Vietnam and divert large blocks of resources to domestic programs, according to Holtzman. Even with an end to the Vietnam war, it would still be necessary to elect sympathetic congressmen and give them tenure security.

Many Negroes have said that a war here will force the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam and divert those resources to combat domestic poverty. Holtzman labeled this as bad tactics, citing the fact that the response to street violence has been more rigidity at all levels of government.

The Church and Alternative Strategies for Change

Richard A. King, Professor of Economics at North Carolina State University, discussed methods the church could use in choosing among alternative strategies for change.

The PIE Formula. Raising questions about changing present allocations of resources first involves setting goals, King said. He outlined the PIE formula--planning, implementing and evaluating--as a management process for putting programs into action.

In establishing a strategy, any number of courses of action are open to an individual in a crisis.

Cost-Effectiveness Basis. The task of the church, in facing crises, is to identify those courses which are open and to formulate a strategy on a cost-effectiveness basis. Once the alternative courses of action have been identified, then the pay-off of each, in terms of achieving the desired goals, can be specified.

Changing Conditions. The difficulty in carrying through this approach is that conditions and situations may change. The church, therefore, must consider different states of nature or different situations. The "pay-off" of each alternative course of action then must be worked out under all conceivable situations. The pay-off of each course of action under different states of nature can then be averaged to indicate the safest and most profitable course.

Importance of Choosing Goals. One major problem of the church is that its goals and pay-offs are complex--a mixture of the tangible and the intangible. Many of its problems result from a failure to identify and specify goals. Once those goals are specified, they may be in conflict. Working toward one goal may drain off energies and resources from another. The church therefore must be willing to choose among goals, to set priorities.

Examples of Alternative Goals. A southern church deciding to practice open seating probably must be willing to accept a cut in attendance and a resulting cut in budget and programs. Will the costs exceed the benefits?

Some churches, in their social action committees, have felt that their efforts have been too widely dispersed and of too little effect in any one area. As a result, they have set up priorities and moved to a task force approach. This allows a coordinated effort in areas that need concentrated action.

Implementing and Evaluating Strategies for Change. The planning having been completed, implementation and evaluation of strategy is of equal importance. Should you try the "big push" approach, or should you move gradually? One theory of implementation is that of adding new components to the old system. This sometimes is most effective, while in other cases it proves necessary to rethink and revise the entire system. Is a balanced or an unbalanced program most effective? In certain situations, it might be advantageous to neglect certain goals to make an all-out effort to achieve one short-term goal. There is a variety of church goals that need to be identified, and there must be an openness to change, particularly in the specific commitment of resources. The church must be ready to question its existing patterns of behavior, he concluded.

Discussion

Having come to see themselves more in the light of catalysts and strategists, the ministers were excited by the idea of the management approach to working out strategy.

Present Lack of Goals. One minister expressed the belief that the average church today lacks any concrete, specified goals and does little planning in the area of selecting goals. Information gained through the seminar series, King said, suggests that, in the face of the changes around us, new goals must be identified. And the process of identifying those goals will be critical, he added. Mere planning will not be enough. The church must be ready to implement, and to involve the decision makers in implementing.

Goal-Seeking and the Church Organization. Is it going to continue to boil down to the pastor making all of the decisions, one minister asked. He particularly expressed an interest in the task force approach. Many, if not most, churches need a more effective framework in which the lay members can carry on the mission of the church themselves, King said. One problem is that the church tends to operate with very general goals. It is not necessary to take on such broad areas, and probably would be more advantageous to work in more specific areas. "We must pick our territories more carefully," he said. A generality of goals is one of the disadvantages of trying to work through large groups--either state or denominational. Such large groups should be regarded as supportive or suggestive bodies, rather than as specific goal-setters.

Justice or Reconciliation. Is the goal of the church justice or is it reconciliation? One minister stated that while the church has been proud of its efforts in bringing about social justice, it may have lost its hope of creating reconciliation. If the church forces change through conflict, it at least gets separate groups interacting, integrated to that extent, each participating in the activity of the other. So argued another minister. Justice is a step toward reconciliation, he argued, and reconciliation is a long way off. Justice may be achieved prior to reconciliation, another agreed. He defined reconciliation as "how things are put back together after justice has been accomplished."

Involving the Young. What is the church doing to involve its young people--to get them doing things and accepting responsibilities? One minister proved King's point by replying that young people in his church had been involved in a tutoring program for disadvantaged children, but that no effort had been made to evaluate the program and that he did not know what had happened to the program.

Winston-Salem ministers described a two-week camp sponsored by several churches for the purpose of giving middle class white youths some idea of the experiences of poor Negro youths. As a result of the camp program, they said, many of the whites are working part time in community centers in poverty areas.

The Presbyterian Church has begun to concentrate on the high school level in its efforts to renew the life of the church. Many churches have begun to push young people into positions of authority in the church, one Presbyterian minister said. "In fact, one church ended up with a 16-year-old deacon. It scared them to death."

One suggestion for involving the young in the ministry of the church to the community was summer camps set up as residence centers from which young people could go out to work in community projects. According to several ministers from rural areas, the suggestion is not practical out of the urban setting. The white rural youth is conservative, while the Negro youth is practically a captive labor force on the farm.

The Structure of Power and Decision Making in One North Carolina City

In an evening session, a team of ministers presented and discussed information they had gathered on the seats of power and on the decision makers in their home community.

Study Method. An outline for gathering this information was presented at the first seminar session by Selz Mayo, Professor of Rural Sociology at North Carolina State University. As a structural framework for understanding the community, he listed eight basic institutions that should be studied:

(1) the family

(2) the church and religion

(3) educational system

(4) economic system

(5) government

(6) recreation

(7) welfare

(8) health and medical care.

He suggested that ministers set up study commissions to assist them as well as to involve others in understanding the community.

Four Basic Questions. He also suggested that four basic questions should be asked:

(1) Who runs this town? Who makes the decisions, and how do they make them? In order to find the answer, he suggested three approaches:

    a. the positional or formal power structure approach (who holds the recognized positions of leadership?)

    b. the reputational approach, in which persons reputed to have power are asked to name the three or four people they consider to be the real decision makers in the area, and those so named then are asked the same question.

    c. the personal influence approach, in which persons assumed to have influence are asked to name those who influence their decisions.

(2) How do people make their livings? And, what changes are taking place in this picture? Participants were urged to use the 1960 census as a base, then locate sources for bringing those figures up to date. Types of information to study included the total labor force as well as employment patterns, such as the percentage employed in manufacturing hard (durable) goods, soft goods (requiring low labor skills and involving little processing), or in between. Unless a community is adding to the durable goods segment, it is not adding to the income level of the labor force, he said.

(3) How do people live? What is the per capita income, the level of housing, the buying power per capita? What types of things are people spending money on?

(4) How is the educational plant functioning? Where are schools located in terms of population, as well as in terms of quality? Do they offer a diversified curriculum? How qualified are the teachers? How adequate are the library facilities?

Team Report. Using this guide, one group gathered information and presented a statistical report on a city of well over 100,000. The presentation included a history of the city and of the growth and influence of the major industries in the city; an employment profile including an analysis of problems facing industrial workers; a description of the decision makers in the city, based on information gathered through the reputational approach; and an analysis of the public education system, as well as the institutions of higher learning; and a description of the city's needs in the areas of housing, health and welfare.

Problems of Interpretation. While the ministers drew a number of conclusions about the nature and operation of their community from the information gathered, and said they felt they had gained a great deal of insight, they expressed an inability to relate and analyze the wealth of facts. Indeed, the report was heavy with undigested statistics. The greatest among of perception was shown in the analysis of the power differentials in the city.

Case Study in Power. Because of the size of the city and the diversity of industry within it, no monolithic power structure exists, according to the report. People exercise power by virtue of the positions they hold and the wealth they control.

There are five general areas in which power is vested, with two exerting particular influence on the life and decisions of the community.

(1) One major industry dealing in world markets controls the directions of other industries, sets the general wage scale, and affects housing patterns within the city. Because of an early and generous profit-sharing program, it has made a great number of people in middle management wealthy and has thus built up

a vast store of loyalty in the community. Industry management can exercise considerable influence at the polls, and through generous endowments and donations, has gained considerable control over or loyalty from the educational and cultural community. Officials of the corporation are active in civic efforts and seek and hold office in municipal government.

(2) Another major industry, of national prominence, has kept its power and wealth in the hands of the founders and their heirs. And though those heirs have exhibited a great deal of civic consciousness and command high respect at home and in the nation, their actual influence is somewhat more limited. Both of these industries employ thousands of semiskilled and unskilled workers.

(3) A financial institution of great power within the state as a whole exerts less power within its home community. The institution is closely related to the first industry described, and its decisions are thought to be greatly influenced by the directors of that industry. Officials of the industry are prominent on the board of the financial institution.

(4) An historic religious and cultural group has become the source of much tourist promotion and has exerted a great deal of cultural influence on the city. It has fostered a community-wide interest in fine arts, and has been cultivated by the community as a matter of pride in heritage. The fairly sizable educational community exerts little influence, either because of weakness or introversion.

(5) The Negro community is large, but is without single-minded leadership. Those Negroes recognized by the community as leaders frequently are not popular or influential within the Negro community.

Discussion

Discussion centered not only around the report, but also dealt with problems of other ministers in studying their own areas.

Difficulty in Getting Response. One minister said he had difficulty in getting people to name those who, they felt, held power and influence in the community. It was suggested that he present the questions more as a game. One method suggested by Mayo and used in drawing the team report consisted of putting names on cards and asking people to arrange the cards in order, based on the amount of power and influence associated with the names.

The Negro Community. The greatest single problem in the community, according to one of the reporting ministers, is that of motivating the Negro community. The Negroes now are making an organizational effort. What of the recognized leaders? Those who have official positions in local government have been noted for voting with the management of the major industry. The most prominent Negro leader, in terms of personal identification, has made good use of patronage, operates essential service businesses within the Negro community, and has never been seriously challenged. According to one reporter, his actual influence probably is overrated.

County Influence in City Decisions. To what extent does the city control the county board of commissioners? Members of the county board are rural by residence and orientation. Some hostility exists between the city and county boards, with the city council acting as the more progressive of the two bodies.

What happens to county-wide bond issue votes? Many of the bond issues for schools and libraries are defeated by the county precincts. The city has not been effective in overcoming county resistance to change, despite the fact that it has twice as large a population, the reporters said. How can such a powerful urban structure be defeated? Urban apathy was suggested. It was also suggested that much of the city's population might recently have moved in from the rural area, carrying with them and maintaining their predominantly rural values and attitudes. Along these same lines, it was pointed out that within a 50-mile radius of most southern cities of this type, there exists a large population with a tradition of living in the country, working in the city. They maintain rural residence because of its overtones of independence, detachment, and nonfarm agrarianism.

The Negro as a Force for Change. Are there any signs that the Negroes will organize and vote for change? No, according to the reporting team. Negroes have been conditioned by the paternalism of the giant industries. Their attitudes have been shaped for them and their institutions have been given to them. To date, they have not had to organize to make progress, and have no experience in effective, organized action to achieve goals. Those who do play leadership roles in the Negro community have found that cooperation and negotiation with the white industrial power structure can effect great change, while organized confrontation leads to rigid resistance.

It was suggested by a seminar staff member that the reporting group needed to analyze the extent to which the power structure has acted to defeat measures considered good for the community and the extent to which it has initiated such measures.

What Knowledge Gained? One minister asked the reporting group how they would proceed to tackle a specific problem, on the basis of their study. Their reply, "We know now where to put the emphasis--who we would go to, whose influence we would seek."

What Is a Good Community

Walter P. Baermann, Professor of Product Design at North Carolina State University, discussed the components of a good community.

Selling Ideas for Change. Using his own experience as a product designer, Baermann said, "If you have any kind of moral or ethical standards, and you want to work with large industry, you have to find ways to sell your ideas to industry." Likewise, he said, those who want to promote progressive community action in a conservative community must find ways to sell the idea that the action will be advantageous to the power structure of the community from their own viewpoint.

Time of Rapid Change. Expanding technology is forcing rapid changes on today's society. We are feeling the impact of cybernation (highly sophisticated self-maintenance machines), unification of rural and urban areas into megalopolis structures, and a synthetic materials take-over in consumer products. Handling these changes requires ethical decisions, Baermann said.

Most of them have come about so rapidly that society hasn't had time to digest their implications. They have forced us to change and speed up our educational systems, to drive for encyclopedic knowledge rather than creative thinking, to develop new terminologies overnight.

Implications for the Community. Catching up with and controlling this technological explosion will require tremendous effort on the part of the community. Physical planning alone won't do the job, according to Baermann. He questioned whether ecology planning would, in itself, be sufficient. "I would like to coin the phrase 'spiritual ecology' in creating the good community," he said.

Creating New Attitudes. An awareness of our times and its complications must become an ingrained understanding, he said. And in creating this understanding, the church must be most involved. It must collaborate with the educational system to make people aware that it is not enough to say, "This is what I want." Rather, they must have the understanding to ask, "Is this the problem I most need to solve?" and the knowledge to explore all of the possible ways of solving it. The church must also prepare its members spiritually to use their increasing leisure time as constructive members of the community.

This preparation can not be done in an expedient way, according to Baermann, but must be done in depth. The church will have to teach what community life means in terms of human relationships: it will have to teach the advantage of the long-distance view.

Discussion

Can Today's Church Play Creative Educational Role? One minister responded that he felt pessimistic about the creative and effective role the church can play in educating and leading the community. Church congregations usually are organized on the basis of social and economic class levels, he said, and the church therefore is not different from the society in which it exists. The church still has tremendous means of spreading influence, Baermann contended, through the pulpit and through its youth organizations.

Another minister agreed that within its denominations, the church may no longer be holy or catholic, but suggested that through forming itself anew, the church might be able to move the community. The church first needs revolution, another stated, a tearing apart and putting back together again.

What Homework Must Be Done? What homework should the church and its ministry do before tackling these problems of change? The church, or any groups attempting reform, must first study a system and come to understand it thoroughly in order to find the crack in which to drive a wedge, Baermann said. They must also learn to recognize primary problems as opposed to apparent problems.

Discrimination in Employment as Example Problem. The problem of discrimination in employment was suggested as a study example. When you ask why the Negro is not employed, or is not employed at a higher level, you come up with several answers, Baermann said. Among these are low level of education, unhealthy emotional makeup, a slum-induced lack of dignity, intolerance within the community. These factors should then be tackled in the order of their importance. "This may take more time, but you can do it right," he said.

In backing up Baermann's statement, a staff member added that we make the mistake of thinking we understand society because we live in it. As a result, we become impatient with our problems and fail to do our homework in approaching them. The problem of the church, he suggested, is its faintheartedness in the face of the vast job of breaking down, analyzing and moving society. He made a plea for more specialization, followed by coordination, in analyzing the problems of society.

Returning to the specific problem of discrimination in employment, seminar director Maddox divided it into three main situations:

(1) The general level of employment in our entire society.

(2) Even though jobs are available, many Negroes are not qualified to fill them.

(3) There is a feeling of intolerance and an unwillingness to give available jobs to qualified Negroes.

While actual discrimination is difficult to separate from the educational deficiency factor, it is there and can be factually demonstrated. Having isolated this as a major factor, how do you work to change it? It must first be recognized that every man's problem can not be solved; individual maladjustments will always exist. But discrimination on the basis of race is breaking down quite rapidly, and ways should be found to keep the movement snowballing. If the labor market becomes tight, discrimination will disappear rapidly, Maddox said.

What Is Good Community Life? What are the characteristics of good community life? It consists, according to Baermann, of "loving your God, loving your neighbor, and helping each other--and you do this last for selfish reasons."

Broader Tolerance for the Church. The church must be allowed a broader tolerance than it is experiencing today, said one minister. Unlike a machine, the church is allowed no tolerance for stress.

The Church and Regional Planning

John G. Scott, senior planner on the Research Triangle Regional Planning Commission, spoke on the church and regional planning. Following is his presentation.

Regional Planning Relatively Unknown. The concept of regional planning in the United States has simmered on the back burner for several decades. The aroma is faint; nevertheless, awareness is growing that something is cooking. During the past five years just about all of the popular magazines have devoted entire issues to the urban dilemma, the need for good planning, and the enveloping political climate. The television networks have produced some feature programs on the subject. Books and journal articles about planning number in the hundreds.

Despite the publicity, most Americans have not even developed an appetite for city planning, and regional planning is relatively unknown. In many, if not most, of the areas where planning has established itself, it is not functioning well. Opposition to planning has led one authority to state wryly that the better a plan is, the more likely nothing will ever come of it. If such a situation promises to be universal--and there are indications that regional planning has rough days ahead--what's wrong?

Problem of Communication. One of the toughest problems is that of communication.

> "We who work in or are interested in planning bear a great semantic burden. We have a field or an art or a science that we call capital P planning; but when we speak of it, the capital P is not audible, and the word sounds the same as small p planning, which is a more generic term that encompasses many, many activities.
>
> "In fact, we are not averse--when we speak to the unannointed--to illustrate our specialty by pointing out that planning is a ubiquitous exercise of the human intellect, that we plan family picnics and vacations, that an insurance agent plans our life insurance program, that a sales manager plans his next sales campaign, etc. So why should we not plan our cities? To plan is only doing what comes naturally.
>
> "The problem, it seems to me, is that because we can demonstrate the universal presence of, or at least the universal need for, small p planning, we must try to rise to the occasion and prove our ability to foresee the future and plan every aspect of the human comedy; which is quite a load, even for our broad shoulders."

New Language Needed. The semantic problem is indeed discouraging. Those who plan often feel that they speak in a foreign language, and sometimes the intent and meaning of what they say is foreign. This is one of the problems brought about by the algebraic increase in knowledge and the resulting fragmentation into areas of specialization. The specialists must express their concepts and discoveries in words or equations; yet, like new wine in old bottles, new ideas in old words often turn sour.

Those who specialize in the physical and natural sciences are to be envied, for they get around this problem by inventing new words. Their jargon has a tangible, dramatic quality making it not only acceptable but also seized upon to enliven nontechnical everyday usage. (For example, we now have "jet" washing power, "atomic" toys, and the use of the word "parameter" almost automatically confers a Ph.D. upon the user.)

Not so with those who study man and his interrelationships. But they, too, need abbreviations--new words--for involved concepts. However, use of such words often produces communication failure, ridicule, or allienation. On the other hand, if old familiar words are used for unfamiliar concepts, as often as not they are translated into traditional and set meanings as fast as they are written or spoken. It is a terribly frustrating experience to try to put across technical ideas in everyday language to a surly audience which already suspects that you are tampering with the sacred institution of freedom without responsibility, or that you would dare impose anything affecting private property without first going through a general referendum.

Popular Definition of Planning. Here are a few popular definitions that make the planner wish he had taken up some other career:

"Some sort of socialism!"

"It's kinda like zoning, ain't it?"

"It's telling everybody else what they can't do with their land."

"Planning is what the damned communists have been doing in Russia--like their five-year plans."

"Oh, that's what those eggheads do. They draw up a lot of plans and make models of idealistic things that nobody can afford to build."

Standard Administration Function. Planning is one of the standard functions of administration--public and private. Business administration includes planning, organization, staffing, directing, coordination, review, and budgeting. It has been said that corporation presidents devote about half of their time to planning. All but one of those functions are accepted in public administration. Planning--particularly long-range physical planning--usually receives only token attention. It is seldom classified as a bread and butter function, and the planning staff--in such instances--exists as a quasi member of the administrative team. They knock on the door but hear, "Go away. We're busy."

The following simple definition is probably as good as any: Planning is the exericse of common sense--and whatever uncommon technical sense can be brought to bear--to avoid things we don't want to happen in the future; to bring about the things we do want to happen; and to adjust as best we can to the inevitable. One of the fathers of American sociology, Lester Frank Ward, coined a special word for the process. He called it telesis, which means that man can modify, defeat, or hasten the process of nature, including man's natural tendencies. Applied to planning, telesis says that man may set goals and try to reach them.

Process of Controlling Physical Environment. It is time to put the capital P on the word and to say that the special kind of planning discussed here is physical, land use planning, or the structure, form, and function of communities of people on the land. Planning, then, is the process of shaping and controlling man's physical environment. It should go without saying that there are vital relationships between man's physical environment and the social, cultural, and behavioral aspects of his welfare.

It should also go without saying that, in order to be effective, the physical planning process should be meshed with the other administrative functions, particularly budgeting, directing, and coordinating--but such has not been the usual case in public administration. We witness this chronic oversight in the much publicized "plight of the cities."

Why Is Planning Needed? Why is there a need for planning?

(1) First, it is an accepted principle that he who has responsibility should also have commensurate authority, and vice versa. We have given local government the responsibility of providing us with transportation facilities, water supply, waste disposal, fire and police protection, educational institutions, recreation and cultural amenities and many other good things of life. None of them can be separated from the physical environment. The location of streets and roads, schools, parks, water and sewer mains, storm drainage, fire stations, parking facilities, mass transit lines, airports, and so on, are intimately related to the private sectors of community life--the stores, factories, churches, residential areas. Government must provide, maintain, and finance its sphere of responsibility as efficiently and economically as possible. It can not do so where it has to take the leavings, so to speak, and squeeze into whatever spaces are left after private enterprise has had a first choice. It can not put schools in the best locations when it has to take whatever scraps of land happen to be left. It can not provide the most economical sewerage system when it has to put in the lines after development has taken place, by ripping up the streets. It can not furnish adequate parks and

recreation areas when all suitable lands have been devoured by private development. In sum, local government can not best administrate its physical affairs when they are spread out in an uncoordinated jumble across the landscape. Those who would economize by ending the unpleasantness in Vietnam and diverting resources to domestic problems might do well to examine our waste of resources before Vietnam becomes unpleasant.

(2) Second, planning is needed because for over a hundred years the great growth and prosperity of this nation has obscured the fact that any community is the sum of its parts. Our urban areas are, generally, a hodgepodge of superior, mediocre, and deplorable structures. The overall effect is lacking in grace, beauty, or the dignity of man. We have built temples to that which we have really worshiped: bigness, affluence, showmanship, and private economic opportunity largely unmindful of its contribution to the community as a whole. Finally, the evolution of man in urban communities has caught him unprepared. The trend has been algebraic--a curve--ever steepening, insidious. Now we are beginning to realize that the emergent metropolis is in many respects an insatiable monster demanding accelerated spending to mend and replace its elements which were never well joined in the first place.

(3) Third, we need to plan because man does not live by bread, billboards, shopping centers, and eight-lane highways alone. Affluence does not satisfy the soul of man. Congestion, boredom, and ugliness do not inspire. Some 85 percent of Americans will live within urban areas. Essentially, the environment of almost all American people by the year 2000 will be unnatural, manmade. There are those who maintain that if it is little or no better than it is now we may see the beginning of the decline and fall of the American empire.

And that--too briefly--is what planning with a capital P is about. It says, "Let us seek excellence in all things that we build. Let's dream dreams about the form and appearance of total communities and make them come true. Let's begin to think about stewardship of the land. Let's stop wasting money on remedial administration and start coordinating the machinery of community life."

What Is Regional Planning? The idea of town and city planning has barely started to seep into the mainstream of national consciousness. Why complicate things by springing this additional idea of regional planning on us?

A region is an arbitrarily agreed upon geographical area containing, customarily, more than one civil division of government. Thus, a county or a group of counties may be a region; the Tennessee Valley is a popular example. In North Carolina, the General Assembly has established several regions, such as the Research Triangle Region, including Orange, Durham, and Wake Counties. The Piedmont Crescent is a good example of a region.

Actually, the concept of regionalism isn't something new. Regionalism is extroverted provincialism; nationalism is extroverted regionalism; and extroverted nationalism may be the long sought brotherhood of man.

Many are the agonized attempts to define a region. We are accustomed to thinking about towns, cities, counties, states, and nations as standard civil divisions. However, many natural and artifactual things ignore lines on a map. The eastern hardwood region of the United States, the Tennessee River basin, and the Great Plains are examples of large recognizable regions.

Old Map Lines Obsolete. Regional planning is important because this nation is now developing on a regional scale. The lines on the map marking civil divisions are, in many instances, either obsolescent or obsolete. The concept of states, counties, and municipalities is an ingrained tradition. It stems from the Jeffersonian days when such an arrangement suited the distribution of people on the land and when over 90 percent of the population was rural. Those old survey lines are, today, in a predominantly urban nation with millions within metropolitan areas, contributing to administrative and political frustrations, inefficiencies, and the perpetuation of unsolved social and economic dilemmas.

Max Ways, writing in the January 1968, issue of Fortune, says:

> "The U.S., however, will not surmount the racial crisis unless it makes rapid progress toward resolving a broader, though less acute, crisis--that of 'the city.' In this context, 'the city' means not just the great core cities of our metropolitan areas; it refers to the whole situs of contemporary American civilization, the nationwide complex, including satellite cities, suburbs, and towns. This has become one great vast pulsing organism. Although many of its internal communications are awry and its organs badly coordinated one with another, our society is more interdependent than ever before and more so than any other society, past or present. Cut into thousands of political fragments ranging from great states to tiny villages, this whole subfederal level, the city, has had to cope with huge new burdens created by shifts of population and changes in style of life. During the past 35 years, when public discussion concentrated mainly on Washington and on international affairs, the neglected subfederal level of our public life has been falling further and further behind the responsibilities thrust upon it by social change."

The needs of this vast pulsing organism can not always be filled, its problems solved, or its opportunities realized within existing civil divisions, be they lines on a map or socio-psychological traditions. The task is staggering, and in terms of economics alone local governments are as yet generally unable to surmount it.

Take, for example, the three counties that make up the Research Triangle Region--Orange, Wake, and Durham. There we see a typical pattern unfolding: three large cities and 10 suburbs plus thousands of rural non-farm inhabitants spreading out across the land--people attracted to the urban atmosphere yet avoiding the core cities. Densities become thinner and thinner, the logistics become more and more difficult for local government, the quality of the living environment and vital public services deteriorate in many areas, and the tax problem magnifies. The needs of the metropolitan people cut across city and county lines. Water and sewerage, schools, parks and recreation, preservation of natural resources, medical care facilities, transportation, cultural amenities, police and fire protection, welfare services--all these must be provided either by much duplication of effort and overlapping of civil jurisdictions, or those responsible for the provisions must be able to look beyond today and the artificial lines of provinciality with the regional outlook. They must be able to see what Teilhard de Chardin saw--a thin layer of living things spread out over the land, a biosphere.

Population projections for the Research Triangle Region indicate that 50 years from now the region can easily have grown from a 1960 figure of 324,000 to 1,200,000. Even if we are able to keep urban sprawl from becoming worse and hold present development to about 236 acres per 1,000 people, and even if we are able to nudge development into those areas most easily and economically supplied with public water and sewerage, Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill will have merged. Cary and Garner will have been engulfed by Raleigh, and Orange County will have urban development strung out along the transportation corridor through the center of the county, moving westward into the Piedmont Crescent.

The Divided Megalopolis. We have a name for this kind of thing. We call it a megalopolis, a city of cities. Within the super city, unless there is a regional outlook, there will be no corporate existence, no sense of leadership, no capital, and no way to secure the unanimous assent of the local governing bodies necessary for social action. Taxing powers will be divided, and the backwardness of a tiny hamlet can frustrate the progress of a metropolis. Take, for example, the recently defeated library bond issue in Wake County. Out of more than 70,000 registered voters, only about 15,000 voted, and the issue was defeated two to one by, I suspect, a rural minority who fear the city, who hate the city, who look with suspicion upon book-learning anyway, or who simply say that the usefulness of the real property tax has reached its limit.

President Kennedy addressed Congress in 1961 thusly:

> "The city and its suburbs are interdependent parts of a single community, bound together by the web of transportation and other public facilities and by common economic interests. Bold programs in individual jurisdictions are no longer enough. Increasingly, community development must be a cooperative venture toward the common goals of the metropolitan region as a whole."

The problems stemming from regional growth are seen at the federal level. The federal government, within the past eight years or so, has attempted to prime the pump of local action by subsidizing a variety of planning and development programs. As one might expect, this arouses often a resentment of "federal interference." What we are experiencing is actually a federal attempt to avoid a rear-end collision between the speeding problems of urbanization and the pokey Sunday drivers at the local level.

The Difficulties of Regional Planning. I think it is accurate to say that the difficulties of regional planning are essentially those generally experienced in any kind of community planning program, compounded by the fact that provincialism and more space add additional hurdles.

I shall start with the technical difficulties and move on to the socio-political difficulties, even though the two have valence bonds at points.

(1) Hiring a Staff: Regional planning means that there must be a regional agency of some sort, or a coalition of subregional agencies. There we find the difficulty of getting an effective group of capable people together. The agency must have a staff, for there is full-time professional work to be done. This calls for the first expenditure. Enter political opposition from the right wing wearing a look of pained alarm and carrying a large budget.

(2) Lack of Tools: Assuming that the staff is engaged, they then face the problem of maps and data. They need accurate planimetric, topographic, soil maps, and a geologic survey. Parts of North Carolina have never been accurately mapped. Soil surveys in many counties are dated around the turn of the century. Geologic maps are gross and pertain to surface geology only. In addition, the staff needs a land use survey of the entire region to inventory the existing patterns of land use. They need economic and population data galore. The former is woefully lacking, to the extent that we really can't do a decent job of economic analysis at the local level, and population data, gathered every 10 years, soon become a mushy foundation for decision making. Since local surveys for up-to-date data are enormously expensive, the staff just has to make do with what it can scrape together.

(3) Timid Policy Makers: We now have a staff and their basic tools. They then look to the policy makers for some concensus of community or

regional goals. Too often the policy makers are honored to be on a commission or board yet disinclined to burden themselves with study. There is a tendency to be content with the same common sense that made them community leaders in the first place--which might be nothing more than the kind of sense required to accumulate a comfortable amount of personal wealth. So, they aren't too sure what the professional planners on the staff are talking about. They don't have much of an idea about community goals because the only real community that they have ever experienced is a community of interests shared by the people they sell to, fraternize with, or are dependent upon for remaining at the top of the pecking order.

Sometimes it's humbleness, sometimes it's lack of comprehension, and sometimes it's plain out chickenheartedness, but when commissions and boards face the question of setting planning goals, few seem willing or able to do so. It is as if they would not presume to say what the citizenry should want. They become timid. They seem to want a referendum in which even the unborn may vote. Local success and progress have been regarded as little more than attracting industry, having a larger population each decade (regardless of the characteristics of the population), fertilization of subdivisions, "better business," and a few prestige showplaces.

The professional planner, having many alternatives to offer, waits for a signal as to general direction. "What do I plan for?" he asks. The policy makers nonplussed, say to the planner, "Eh, why don't you draw up some recommendations?" The planner then has to make a tenuous guess as to what might be acceptable. He faces the dilemma of the saleslady trying to sell women's hats. After a few false starts he may suggest some reading material for the policy makers in order that they all talk the same language. A few read. Most don't. They really are too busy, often. So they return to the next meeting and stare at charts, graphs, and maps.

As a rule, all of this is going on without the involvement of existing and functioning line agencies such as school boards, water departments, or the tax office.

Finally, sometimes in despiration, the planning staff produces a comprehensive plan for development. They have sought to coordinate the uses of land, to bring about compatibility among land uses, to set up an adequate traffic pattern, to locate the machinery for providing public services and facilities, and to coordinate private and governmental actions which determine the ultimate structure, function and appearance of the region.

(4) Failure to Implement: The policy making board meets to review the plan. Let's say it finally satisfies them or at least doesn't exceed their sense of pragmatic idealism. They then have to put a program into operation to reach the goals. This involves--in outline only--publicizing the program, public acquisition of vital lands, land use regulations such as zoning and subdivision controls, honorable and conscientious enforcement of such regulations, intelligent coordination of the entire administrative branches of government, and persuading individuals and corporations to participate voluntarily.

This drama becomes quite lively in act three when outraged property owners, hamburger merchants, used car dealers, billboard barons, and farmers dressed as Uncle Sam come tropping in to protest, complain, or ask for exceptions. If they don't completely kill the program or get what they want, they fling the Uncle Sam suit on the floor, declare it a disguise for communism or socialism (which they couldn't accurately explain) and lay in wait for the next bond issue.

What Can the Church Do? As I see it, much of the church's mission in the world today is that of saving man from the consequences of his innate selfishness--some of which I equate with sin. I like what someone else has said, "My sin is that which I do, or don't do, that harms others." Thus it seems to me that the church would do good by teaching its members that being a Samaritan today doesn't mean just walking along the road with a Christmas basket full of bandaids looking for some poor devil in a ditch. The ditch is the ghetto, the residential and commerical slums, the land sour from the faulty septic tank, the blighted roadsides, and the school that gives a high-school diploma to kids with a ninth-grade education.

The poor devils are the mothers who spend half a day and too much of the families' funds driving children to schools and recreation which should be within walking distance, or the fathers who must provide two cars instead of libraries. They are the people who have no outdoors except what they see on TV in the form of heroic outdoor homicide. In some, they are all who must endure living in the uninspiring monument to successful business, the American city, or the semi-civilized hiding places, the suburbs.

Most church people feel that they must be outgoing, spreading the word, and helping others. This is fine. But isn't there a tendency to devote ourselves to effects rather than to causes? Why is it that those who willingly open public meetings with prayer are so often those who end them with a curse? Why does our religion vamoose so often when we are faced with the need to make personal sacrifices, to view with equanimity, to continue to educate ourselves, to give trust, to accept trust, to be unpopular for God's sake, or to seek truth instead of reacting on emotion?

It isn't enough for preachers to admonish their flock in cryptic biblical terms and speak of love and sin in the abstract. Religion is an attitude. An attitude is a tendency to act. For every attitude there is a corresponding value.

Man seems to feel it imperative to identify himself with a piece of ground. We seem to be provincial by nature, which may possibly be a manifestation of an instinct rooted in our primitive fears and struggle for survival when dominance of land meant food, shelter, a mate and family. Be that as it may, we find a universal tendency to look at our occupancy of land first through a rangefinder zeroed in on our own property. The fury of a woman spurned is a cradle song compared to the fang-baring roar of him whose property is threatened, by taxation, trespass, or the exercise of eminent domain.

Coming up in the echelon of possessiveness, we cling next to neighborhoods and communities. We can be brought to public hearings when the sanctity and prestige of our block is threatened, but we lie down again when the issue is an adequate city-wide system of recreation facilities.

It seems to me that our loyalities and stewardship decrease in direct proportion to the size of the land area, except for those things which protect our mutual security or which afford vicarious prestige. We are tigers on national defense, and being number three on the national basketball rating; we are lambs about neighborhood basketball courts and stream pollution.

In conclusion, I repeat that regional thinking is extroverted provincialism; extroverted regionalism is progressive nationalism, and extroverted nationalism may be the long sought brotherhood of man. If man has a territorial imperative, regionalism may be the ecumenical movement thereof.

Discussion

Triangle Objectives. What are the objectives of the Research Triangle Regional Planning Commission? Scott listed four principal objectives suggested by the planning staff.

(1) A regional solution to the sewerage and water service problem, guaranteeing an adequate supply of clean drinking water. There is a real risk of hepatitis and typhoid outbreaks, he said, as septic tanks begin contaminating all of the streams. Even with 98 percent effectiveness in treating wastes, the remainder will be enough to contaminate the Neuse River by the year 2020.

(2) A fully worked out open space program to prevent population pressure from ruining the general environment.

(3) An adequate transportation system linking the three main centers.

(4) County-wide zoning ordinances to stabilize property investment and development of structures.

Enlarging the Community of Interest. Referring to Scott's statement that "They [local government commissions and boards] don't have much of an idea about community goals, because the only real community they have ever experienced is a community of interests shared by the people they sell to, fraternized with, or are dependent upon for remaining at the top of the pecking order," one minister called this a major condemnation of the church, pointing immediately to its mission. Is this attitude more a manifestation of ignorance than "cussedness"? The first problem in combatting this attitude, suggested one participant, is creating awareness, confronting church members with the world in its entirety. One minister suggested that the church may well have many members who have this broader view of the interrelated community, but do not have the knowledge to implement their ideas and translate them into action.

Opposition to Regional Planning. Where do professional planners find their main opposition? According to Scott, they are faced with active opposition on the one hand and apathy on the other. "We can lambast the county commissioners, but first let us examine ourselves," he said. "We allowed them to be elected." Many, if not most, do not have the credentials for the job. They work at government as a part-time job and receive little recompense for their efforts. Perhaps an overhaul in the structure of local government is needed, he said. The ultimate solution rests with the few people who will make the decisions, he added, and the chief opposition is ignorance.

Amateur Government. The community "gets what it deserves" when it continues to allow itself to be governed by people who have no training for or experience in examining alternative courses of action or evaluating plans, said one participant. Could the church serve as an educational forum on these problems and their possible solutions? Attracting participation in such forums would be difficult, according to many of the ministers.

Why are planning programs and land-use programs met by belligerence rather than analysis? The answer to the planning problem, according to one staff member, is reorganization of local government or a new willingness to accept the recommendations of experts in making public decisions. Amateurs can not continue to make long-range decisions on problems that require expert technical knowledge, he said.

Seminar staff members and guest lecturers formed a panel for questions from the ministers, who chose to continue the discussion of regional planning.

"Better People" Shun Government. Judson King opened discussion. "It is a discouraging thing to attend a government meeting and hear what goes on there," he said. "They [board members] are less aware of what goes on in their own county than in what goes on in Great Britain." One of the real weaknesses in many areas, he said, is that local government posts and responsibilities are shunned by "what we call 'better people'."

Finding a place to break through with understanding is a discouraging process, he continued.

Negroes Excluded from Government. At the other end of the spectrum, he said, Negroes are excluded from government participation. When boards and commissions were set up in his area to apply for and manage OEO funds, he said, not a single Negro sat on any one of them. Efforts to place Negroes on the boards failed until pressure was brought from the federal government.

Regional Planning in the State. What is the state-wide picture of regional planning? According to Scott, 14 mountain counties have been organized for the past 10 years in a Western Council for Regional Planning; five counties in the northeast attempted to form a regional planning body but failed; the Coastal Plains Development Commission has been formed; and a loose confederation operates in the Piedmont Crescent.

The State Division of Community Planning has grown to a staff of 50 employees with two regional offices as well as headquarters in Raleigh.

But North Carolina is just beginning to move to the implementation phase of regional planning, and this will be the crucial test of its survival. A rash of planning occurred in 1920, he said, but the plans were never implemented. "How do you motivate people who are for something to show up at public hearings?" he asked. "Until you can do this, the politician hears only opposition and his hands are tied."

Long-Range Commitments. People are convinced of the immediate costs of not taking the advice of the expert in medicine, Jerry West said, but the consequences of not taking the advice of the planner usually are far off. The time dimension complicates the educational problem in this area, he said.

It is a valid question, according to Scott, to ask how far ahead we should reasonably commit ourselves to avoid future calamities. "And there are concrete answers to this question. We can run up unmanageable debts to create a future paradise, or we can work for less in a shorter period of time, and at a lower cost, by thinking and acting now."

Along these lines, economist Richard King contended that buying land now for later use in a long-range development plan might not be economically sound. With competing priorities for a limited amount of funds, such an investment might prove crippling. Calling this a valid planning question, Scott suggested that such lands might be purchased and put to other uses in the meantime, such as recreation.

Sparking Grass Roots Involvement. The chief failure of planning groups is to spark grass roots debate and involvement, suggested one participant. An increasingly mobile population was listed as one cause. Scott stated that public relations on behalf of planning is the function of the planning commission rather than the professional staff. The commissions have consistently failed to perform this function.

In building support for regional planning, the aim should be to promote a realistic conflict of ideas, Scott said. This is a healthy kind of politics. And it is very much a job of the church to influence the individual's reaction to defeat. "It may be that the concept of regional planning over a long period of time is completely unworkable," he said. "If so, how I react to that fact is tremendously important. And this is a matter of relationship to God."

Workshop Analysis of Local Studies Now Underway

The final afternoon session was used to hear preliminary reports of individual studies on local communities. Ministers also were asked at that time to prepare for the fifth seminar a plan for a specific, concrete course of action in tackling a community problem--through the church, a group within the church or a group drawn from several churches.

Following are sketches of local communities and their power structures as described by the ministers.

Community A. An average suburban-rural area, with many of its residents working in nearby cities and towns. No government bodies exist in the area, and no institutions with the exception of a single church with historic roots. In its dealings with county government, the area competes with other areas for priority. Beyond this, there are few community decisions to make. Residing in the area is a man of tremendous influence in state politics, and unchallenged influence in local matters. His residence there is a matter of pride and prestige for the community.

Community B. A city of 35,000 population, with large-scale industries providing employment for technical, skilled and semiskilled workers. The reporting minister first went to a budding young politician for a list of the most influential members of the community. He then contacted those people and asked them to name the three people who influenced them. He found that no old-line, established families were named. Instead, the final list included executives of the largest industry, a doctor and a college president. A national industry moving into the city after World War II, with a large staff of middle management and technical personnel, served to shatter the existing power structure, he said. The company has encouraged its personnel to participate in community politics. The city has a high per capita income, and a strong ultra-conservative element.

Community C. A community of 2,500, center of an agricultural area, and county seat. The surrounding county operates primarily with a single-crop economy and is declining in population. The Ku Klux Klan is active in the area, and has a fair amount of local support. A defensive attitude prevails in the community. Only token integration exists in the schools, and union schools still are operated. Small low-skill industries have been brought in, and a number of pulp mills and lumber yards complete the employment picture. The county has one of the highest rates of illiteracy and one of the highest rates of commitment to mental hospitals in the state.

The reporting minister, a long-time resident of the area, used the reputational approach and drew his information from interviews with men of some experience or stature in the community. In the surrounding county, he found, spheres of influence exist. Centering each sphere is a large landowner, who also operates agricultural service enterprises such as gins and stores. They exert their influence by the use of ownership and obligation.

In matters that affect the county as a whole, influence comes from the county seat. In earlier years, the influential men in the community held public office; today they prefer to work through people who they have elected, and they exert considerable control over those officials.

Power and influence reside, for the most part, in the hands of two men. The first, and most powerful, owns extensive tracts of land and various mercantile interests. He belongs to no organized group, and is rarely seen in public, though he is widely related in the area. He is reported to make policy through informal meetings.

The second is active in community affairs and community social life, has shown progressive tendencies and is said to respond to the influence of the president of a small college in the town. He often supports the first man described, but is not afraid to oppose him on other issues. He has been able to distribute a great deal of political patronage and is adept at the personal, soft approach in influencing others.

The minister said he had isolated 14 other individuals or groups with minor influence. These men, he said, align in different ways on different issues and are not a cohesive group.

The reporter was asked what new information he had learned about his community. He expressed some surprise at the extent to which local officials were controlled by one man of no official standing.

On matters of state policy affecting the local community, and in their control of local officials, the two decision makers work in agreement, he said.

Community D. A rural farm area, with no real organization or power structure except one church with a historic background. No county or state officials live in the area, and the sole possessor of real influence is a farm-related business operator who also heads the congregation of the church. He makes very little over use of his influence, and few decisions are made on a community-wide basis. The farmers have small land holdings, and little racial animosity has been shown in the area. The area has a low per capita income, with a declining economic base.

Inability to Evaluate. Other ministers gave brief progress reports. Several said they had problems locating the behind-the-scenes decision makers in their communities, and others said they had difficulty evaluating the facts, once they were gathered.

As a frame of reference in which to place these facts, seminar director Maddox reiterated characteristics of the cultural revolution now taking place in the South:

(1) Agricultural and agrarian values are on the decline, though less so in North Carolina than in the South as a whole.

(2) The population is rapidly becoming urbanized, particularly the Negroes.

(3) The changes are not uniform throughout the South.

(4) People are taking rural values with them as they move to the city, and a new urban way of life has not yet crystallized for them.

SEMINAR IV

OPERATING THE ECONOMY AT FULL CAPACITY

The third seminar having been devoted to an exploration of decision making at the local level, the fourth seminar agenda was drawn up to develop more fully the national context or setting in which local programs are developed. It began with a comparative study of the U.S. and Soviet economies, moved to various aspects of the U.S. economy with emphasis on fiscal and monetary policies, and ended with an afternoon session on manpower training activities in North Carolina.

Maddox, seminar director, opened the sessions by summarizing the general aim: "We will examine the decisions that have to be made at the national level, get some view of who the key decision makers are, and the guiding principles that they use, or might use, in making their decisions."

Major Characteristics of the U.S. Economy

Jerry West, Visiting Professor in the Department of Economics at North Carolina State University, spoke on the major characteristics of the U.S. economy.

What Tasks Should It Perform? Asking the ministers to think of the national economy as a machine, he then asked them, "What tasks do we want it to perform? All economic systems must perform certain basic tasks, he said. They are:

1. Production
    - What kinds of goods and services are to be produced: Will it be autos or hula hoops? If both, what mix?
    - Where are these goods and services to be produced?
    - How are these goods and services to be produced? At what technological level?
    - How much of each good and service should be produced?
2. Consumption
    - What proportion of the goods and services should private households use or consume?

- What proportion of the goods and services should the public sector of the economy use or consume?
- What proportion of the goods and services should be used in the replacement of capital stock in the economy?
- What proportion of the goods and services should be used to add to the capital stock to provide for growth?

3. Distribution
   - Who is to receive the material benefits of the production--i.e., what individuals or households? This is one of the most difficult questions to answer, he said.
4. Economic Relations with the Rest of the World
   - What kinds of trading patterns are to exist?
   - What role is the economy to play in assisting other countries to develop?

How these questions are answered depends upon the type of economic system we have.

Criteria for Developing an Economic System. The simplest economic system is the subsistence economy. Each man produces everything that he consumes. He makes his own production decisions. Once we go beyond this level, we have entered the age of specialization, division of labor, and exchange. Production becomes more complex, and we are forced to set up some criteria for the development of the system.

Criteria important in the selection and development of an economic system are:

1. Plenty - What is the quantity and quality of the goods and services produced by the economic system? Generally, we want more.
2. Growth - Is the economic system operating so that the quantity of goods and services increases over time? We want more goods and services not only for population growth, but more per capita.
3. Stability - How much do employment and output fluctuate over time? Are prices fairly stable or do they move up and down causing periods of inflation and deflation?

4. Security - Is there a high risk of unemployment, loss of property, and suffering from lack of the things needed for a minimum standard of living?
5. Efficiency - Are resources used in their most productive and effective use? Are individual resources being used in the most effective way in given areas of use? Are resources properly allocated over time so as to maximize production?
6. Equity and justice - How "fair" is the distribution of income, power, wealth? Is there equality of opportunity? Are resources rewarded in accordance with their contribution?
7. Economic freedom - Can consumers or households buy whatever they please and can afford? Are businesses free to operate as they see fit?
8. Economic sovereignty - Who decides what is produced? Is it the consumer? Some group of central planners? Or a dictator?

All economic systems, as well as all individuals, do not put the same emphasis on the same criteria. In addition, the system is tested on the basis of other criteria--religious, ethical and philosophical. Man has not been able to produce a system that makes him happy in terms of all these criteria, West said.

How Economic Systems Vary. From one system to another, the "machine" has different parts; that is, the systems have different institutions. The systems vary in:

1. distribution of power--Who controls the flow of information? The scientific expertise? The moral authority?
2. property control--What part is owned publicly? What part is owned by the private sector?
3. incentives--Do the workers compete in production for the profit motive? For pride? For national ideals? For ideological loyalties?
4. bureaucracy--Is it large or small?
5. amount of centralization.

Characteristics of U.S. Economy. We used to think of the United States economy as a perfectly competitive model, West said. Today, it can hardly be thought of in that way. In order to bring the major characteristics of the U.S. economy into sharp focus, he compared its different aspects with a perfectly competitive model, the mythical Anglia in Economic Systems, by Gregory Grossman.

Characteristic	Anglia	United States
Ownership of resources:	Private	Mainly private but some public ownership.
Management of firms:	By owner-entrepreneur	Some by owners but most of the production comes from firms with hired management. Firms closest approaching the Anglia situation are farms.
Size of firms:	Small--too small to affect prices, whether buying or selling.	Small to very large--attempt to maintain "workable" competition.
Government's relation to firms:	Laissez faire	More active role but still predominately laissez faire.
Freedom of enterprise:	Complete	Restricted to some extent by labor laws, zoning, sanitation and building codes, etc.
Consumer freedom of choice:	Complete	Fairly complete
Movement of prices:	Free	Fairly free except in case of public utilities, highly concentrated industries, national emergencies, etc.
Coordination of production:	Market mechanism	Market supplemented by public sector activity
Distribution of income:	Market mechanism	Primarily market buy affected by taxation, welfare programs, etc.
Organization of labor:	Not organized	Highly organized in some sectors.

Departures from the Competitive Ideal. In many areas, the United States has seen fit to depart from the competitive, free enterprise ideal.

These departures have been made in order to satisfy more nearly some of the criteria discussed earlier. We have overhauled the machine to produce certain public goods and services, to produce growth or to promote equity. These departures may mean that certain other criteria have not been fully met, for example consumer sovereignty.

The government has stepped in to extend the time horizon. The view of industry may be, and often has been, too short to protect the best interests of the public.

We have departed from the ideal at other times, because the free market system has not satisfied our sense of equity or justice.

Finally, we have departed from the Anglia model because of fluctuations in the overall security of our economic system.

Changes Will Continue. The result of our problems with the system is a continuing development of techniques for changing the "machine." This doesn't mean we are going to junk it, but that we will continually change it, in terms of its functions and its institutions, in an effort to make it more responsive to our needs and our ideals.

Discussion was delayed until after the presentation on the Soviet economic system.

Major Characteristics of the Soviet Economy

Carl Turner, Associate Professor in the Department of Economics, North Carolina State University, discussed the major characteristics of the economy of the USSR.

Beginning of the Soviet System. Like the United States, the Soviet Union also has diverged from its own ideal of communism. Prior to World War I, capitalism was quite secure and confident. It was the only economic system which had proved viable; it was successful, universal, and, even was thought to be eternal. Socialist schemes were published and some experimental communities had been formed, but they were small and short-lived. Hence, the importance of the Soviet system, which the Soviets maintain is an alternative to capitalism.

The Russian Revolution took place in February 1917, and the Soviets seized power in October of that year. The two revolutions were the result of widespread dissatisfaction and a general economic breakdown during the war.

According to the Marxian model, the socialist revolution should have taken place in an advanced capitalist society. So the development in the agrarian Russian society already was a divergence from the model. Lenin, in forming his movement in a backward country, predicted it would be the beginning of a chain of revolutions throughout Europe. There were uprisings in Germany and Hungary, but they quickly failed.

The new socialist state began by withdrawing from the war and repudiating its debts.

The Civil War. The period from 1917 to 1921 was one of civil warfare--the Reds versus the Whites, the monarchists, the bandits, the Green Armies of the peasants. At the same time, worker councils took over control of industry, the alphabet was modernized, the calendar reformed, women were emancipated and the metric system was adopted. Sweeping changes were made by directive. The resulting upheaval overwhelmed the people, and the country was brought to a standstill.

The New Economic Policy. In an effort to start the country moving again, Lenin in 1921 introduced his New Economic Policy (NEP). The free market system was reintroduced on a limited scale. The state retained its essential control, but made considerable concessions to business owners and to the kulaks, who were the more industrious and prosperous peasants. While zealous communists criticised Lenin for departing from the Marxist model, the rest of the world rejoiced in what they regarded as the failure of socialism.

Under the NEP, the country recovered. By 1924, with some confidence restored, the burning question was "Where do we go now?"

Five-Year Plans. The year 1924 marked the beginning of the great economic debates--over the viability of the model system and over the continuance of the NEP. The answer was gradualism--selling agricultural surpluses on the world market to subsidize industrial growth. But would the peasants be willing to sell their surpluses to the government? The question became academic in 1928. Stalin had seized power, the New Economic Policy was abandoned, industrialization was forced at all costs and the peasants were driven into collective farms. Agricultural surpluses were extracted by assessment or taxes, or simply were seized, in order to finance industrialization.

This was the beginning of the famous five-year plans. As part of the heavy investment in economic growth, production became a battlefield and directives became law. Economic crimes were punishable by death. It was a period of socialist emulation, of a frenzy of work for ideological goals.

Production targets were set by the State Planning Commission, (Gosplan) and plans for meeting those targets were drawn up by the various ministries. Each factory and farm had one-month plans and one-year plans, as well as five-year plans. Figures presented by the USSR show that they increased industrial production 4.5 times in nine years. Experts outside the Soviet Union say that production increased only 3.7 or 2.8 or 2.5 times in the nine-year period. Any of these figures represents considerable growth, greater than that of the western nations, because during a good part of the first three five-year plans, the rest of the world was in an economic depression. The Soviet Union in turn viewed this as the collapse of capitalism and evidence of the superiority of the soviet system.

World War II Setback. World War II meant a heavy sacrifice in lives and property for the Soviet Union. Controls more rigid than any exercised before were instituted for reconstruction of the industrial plant. The consumer was left with little but suffering and sacrifice. In 1953, Stalin died, and, after a power struggle, Khrushchev gained control.

Peaceful Coexistence. At the 20th Party Congress in 1957, de-Stalinization began, and with it, the model again changed. The irreconcilable battle of communism and capitalism was softened to peaceful coexistence--primarily in the face of nuclear destruction. This new line did not mean that the competition would cease, but that it would cease to mean direct and dangerous antagonism. At the 21st Congress, in 1959, Khrushchev announced that the socialist stage of Soviet development was completed, and that the country would begin moving into the communist stage. The maxim of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" would become reality. This was a very heady period for the Soviet Union. Scarcity of basic goods had ended and great space achievements were being made. In 1961, at the 22nd Party Congress, Khrushchev announced a 20-year program for achieving full communism, and stated that by 1970, the Soviet Union would outstrip the United States in per capita production.

New Reforms Introduced. Khrushchev was forcibly retired in 1964. The economy was in trouble. Growth rates had dropped from 8.2 percent in the period from 1955 to 1960 to 6 percent in the period from 1960 to 1965. The Soviet Union was experiencing diminishing returns with respect to new investment. Soviet leaders were all the more alarmed because the United States, Germany and Japan all were enjoying an increasing growth rate.

The result was new reforms. Individual industrial managers were given greater freedom, and the concept of profit incentives was introduced. State planning, which had become rigid, was loosened. While the system had resulted in fairly consistent production of basic products, little effort was being made to produce a surplus or new products. Also, paperwork was expanding in a geometric progression, and the system was choking on planning. The head of Gosplan (the State Planning Commission) calculated that if the system continued at its rate at that time, one out of every three people soon would be employed in planning. Major reforms were introduced in the area of consumer goods. Consumers were more affluent and could begin to turn unsatisfactory goods down. Prices were set more in line with production costs, and interest charges were introduced.

The Situation Today. The results of these reforms are not yet known. The Chinese communists are saying that the Soviet Union has diverged too far from the Marxist model and is moving backward to capitalism. While some of capitalism's methods have been adopted, there still is no private ownership of the means of production, and the two systems remain worlds apart. It would be hazardous to predict how far the reforms will go. On its present course, it would seem the Soviet Union has no alternative but to introduce similar reforms in all sectors of the economy for greater efficiency.

The country is not standing still, Turner said, and certainly is no stereotype or textbook economic system. It is in a constant state of flux. Tremendous achievements have been recorded in terms of world power, industrialization and technology, but the human cost has been high. The economy, despite setbacks, has been successful in the face of tremendous odds and is held up as a model for the backward nations of Asia, Africa and South America.

Discussion

Maddox opened the discussion period by observing that the old debates of capitalism versus communism are out of date, since both systems have moved considerably away from their ideal forms.

Manipulating Consumer Demands. One minister asked the speakers for their opinions of the extent to which large corporations are artifically stimulating consumer demands. West said that while the consumer is being highly influenced through advertising in the choice he makes, he still is the one making the choices. This creation of demand by advertising is a major change in the operation of our society, he added. Advertising influence is particularly important in terms of the types of things the consumer buys rather than the total amount of money he spends, according to Maddox. What about advertising in the Soviet Union? Advertising groups have been formed, billboards are used to promote products, and fashion shows are staged, according to Turner. But promotional advertising is relatively new and still rather primitive, he said.

Effects of War on the Economy. Is war a bolster to the economy, or a drain. "As an economist, I see it as a drain," Turner said. Overall, he admitted, war has acted to stimulate growth. The U.S. growth rate jumped to 16.2 percent in World War II. "But there is a point at which war production will become a drain on the economy." Maddox contended the economy could grow just as rapidly in times of peace if the same effort were applied.

Changes in Soviet Agriculture. What changes have taken place in Soviet agriculture since the 1917 revolution? Agriculture has always been the shortcoming of the Soviet system, simply because it has not received the same attention as industry, Turner said. The upheavals of collectivism and the destruction of the progressive kulaks have been costly. In addition, the environment of the USSR is rather hostile. Khrushchev attempted to tackle the problem through private ownership of plots and machinery, and private sale of products, but great gains need to be made.

The Church in Modern Russia. Has the church or religion had any influence in bringing about the reforms described? Turner said he could see no relation between the church and the economic reforms. The government still is hostile to religion, though it was somewhat re-established during World War II as a unifying force among a historically religious people. Those who go to church today find all avenues of advancement and promotion closed. There still is a strong flickering of religion among the Russian Orthodox, Baptists, Seven Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Is there any evidence of the government exploiting the Protestant ethic of work? While work is the basis of life in the Soviet philosophy, this concept is never couched in religious terms. The Soviets have tried to create a new personality, a man who will work for the good of society rather than for self-interest.

Communism Necessary for Rapid Development? Is there any validity to the argument that strong centralization and central planning are necessary for rapid economic development? "What we have is the actual experience of the Soviet Union; anything else is speculation," Turner said. The soviet example of rapid progress is very tempting to underdeveloped nations who want to take a short cut, but the costs in terms of individual loss of liberty may be too high to pay.

High School Texts. One minister asked if the economists present had examined high school textbooks on the Soviet and U.S. economies. Are the two still being taught in terms of simplistic ideals, or are the texts updated, objective, and sophisticated? A shortcoming of economists, according to West, is that they have not emphasized that clear and distinct models do not exist in fact. One staff member responded that little or no economics is taught at the high school level and that texts have not been good. Even more important than the poor quality of the texts, he added, is the fact that few high school teachers are adequately prepared to teach economics. One problem, according to another economist, is that textbooks must be sold. Will school boards buy a text that deals in the economics of social problems?

Monetary and Fiscal Policy to Maintain Full Employment

Fred Mangum, Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics, North Carolina State University, spoke on fiscal and monetary policy to maintain full employment. "We're dealing here with an issue that is an everyday occurrence in this country," he said, "the 'levers' the government shifts to affect employment and income."

Items That Make Up Income. He began with an explanation of the items that make up the national income or the GNP, using the formula $Y=C+G+I$. GNP is equal to personal consumption expenditures (C) plus government purchases of goods and services (G) plus gross investment (I). After deducting capital consumption (the value of machinery and plants used up in production) and indirect business taxes, the national income remains.

In 1964, the GNP of $629 billion was made up of consumer expenditures of $399 billion, government purchases of $128 billion and a gross investment of $102 billion.

Thus, the national income is basically a function of the three components.

Government Tools in Regulating the Economy. How does the government fit into the picture? To begin with, gross investment is a function of the marginal efficiency of capital and of the operating rate of interest. And the rate of interest is determined by the supply of money and the demand for money. The government regulates the supply of money through its monetary policy. This policy thus affects the interest rate and, in turn, gross investment.

The government can regulate the supply of money in circulation by raising or lowering the ceiling on interest rates; by purchasing bonds and putting money into circulation or by selling bonds and taking money out of circulation.

The government also has another tool--fiscal policy. It can tax (thus affecting the level of personal income in the level of personal consumption expenditures); it can borrow; and it can spend. Government purchases of goods and services are, in fact, the second largest of the three GNP components. How it combines these three has a major effect on the level of the economy.

The 1958 Recession. In the face of the 1958 recession, it was the task of government policy makers to come up with ways to increase the level of employment and income. Three courses were adopted:

1. The interest rate was lowered to stimulate investment and increase the level of income. Increased investment to meet demand resulted in higher production, higher prices, higher income.
2. In the area of fiscal policy, the government increased its purchases of goods and services. When the government buys, it stimulates the economy by consuming more goods, supplying more employment and increasing personal income.
3. Taxes were lowered. This increased the level of disposable income putting more money in the consumer's pocket.

Policies to Control Inflation. The nation in 1968 is faced with inflation. To restrain it, the President has proposed a tax increase (a 10 percent surcharge). A tax increase at this time would reduce the consumer's disposable income, would shift the level of aggregate demand downward, and would take the pressure off prices.

In a period of depression, when interest rates and investment levels are low, increasing the amount of money in circulation would have little effect. People simply would hold the money as a safeguard. The answer then is not a monetary approach but a fiscal approach--tax and spend as Roosevelt did with the Works Progress Administration--stimulate the flow of money through the system, create activity. In trying to restrain a hyper-active economy, the answer lies primarily in monetary policy--limit the amount of money in circulation, making investment difficult and cutting the consumer demand level.

The Inflationary Spiral. In a period of rising inflation, plentiful supplies of money cause an expansion of demand. Rising demands cannot be met from the supply of goods available at a given time. The result is a great upward pressure on the price level. In order to catch up with the rising cost of living, workers demand wage increases often exceeding their productivity. Increased wages tend to raise the price level while lowering the production level. The spiral of inflation continues with first prices and then wages moving upward.

In the face of today's inflationary trend, the Federal Reserve Board is trying to reduce the amount of money in circulation by cutting the level of government spending and by increasing taxes to reduce the level of consumer spending.

The Government's Record. The record of the government has been fairly good in handling recession, Mangum said. But the score is not so high in handling inflation. "Politicians haven't the guts to practice their economics," he said. "We don't react quickly enough to trends in the economy; and then, too, it's hard to vote a tax increase in an election year."

Discussion

Discussion was concerned mainly with the economic costs of the war in Vietnam. Most of the participating ministers appeared to favor a swift, negotiated end to the war, and many were members of active peace movements. Thus, they are eager to develop economic arguments to support their policy decision. Many also were particularly concerned with the world food gap, and favored heavy government spending in this area. An end to the war in Vietnam, they feel, would result in an increased flow of resources toward reducing that food gap.

Economic Cost of War. One minister asked, "What is the result of spending large sums on goods that are disposed of outside the country--guns, tanks and planes for example?" This, he said, seemed like self-defeating economics. The more important question, according to Mangum, is "What are the alternatives?" The United States does not need a war or colonialism to operate its economy at full capacity, a staff member pointed out, adding, "I am not convinced by an economic model that we should not be in Vietnam."

Another minister cited the Munich conference, saying that British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain turned over a vast industrial area of Czechoslovakia to Germany as the cost of peace. The result, he added, was chaos and a great economic cost. This is the difficult question of the long haul, according to Mangum. "An in this case [Vietnam] the decision is not being made through the market, but through the political system." Economists, added a staff member, do not have any special knowledge on which to make these long-term decisions. They can only analyze some of the effects of certain economic commitments.

Does Government Policy Initiate or React? Does the government use fiscal and monetary policies to change and direct the system, or does it simply react to what is happening in the system after the fact?

The government sometimes, for political reasons, chooses a certain mix of monetary and fiscal policies; it chooses to affect different sectors in different ways, according to Mangum. Changes in the economy often are anticipated, according to another staff member, but the solutions are not simple and all factors can not immediately be known. The questions of where to spend government resources, of establishing the cost-benefit ratio, are complicated--both economically and politically.

Do the Soviets act on the theory that we will be forced to react to their initiative, and will not react fast enough to gain the initiative ourselves? The United States began its foreign aid programs long before the Soviet Union, Maddox pointed out. Since World War II, the Soviet Union has embarked on an expansionary program, through war and through aid; and, to a large extent, we have ended up reacting. But the U.S. also has taken the initiative with good, positive programs. The Soviets also are having to react, according to West. That is one reason, he said, they are maintaining a large military establishment.

Economic Aid Abroad. In a discussion of the possibilities of operating the economy at full capacity in a peacetime situation, several of the ministers were excited over the potential for aiding backward nations in their agricultural and industrial development. They particularly mentioned the African nations and India, where food shortages are chronic.

Mangum said several questions should first be considered. What happens when we take over the production role for a nation and put native producers out of business? Also, how do you reach and influence the people who have monetary power, the people who control the money we want to spend?

Gold and the Balance of Payments Problem

David Ball, Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics at North Carolina State University, spoke on gold and the balance of payments problem. Following is his presentation.

By looking at the advantage of the use of money, and the characteristics of a good monetary system, we can infer some characteristics of a good international monetary system.

Money and Public Confidence. Superficially examined, the functions of money are mundane indeed. Money functions as a medium of exchange, a store of value, a standard of value, and a standard of deferred payment. It is the public's confidence that a particular money will continue to serve these functions well that imparts monetary value, not the "intrinsic value" of the metal or the aesthetic appeal of the banknote design.

If the public believes that the total supply of a particular money is not ultimately scarce or well-controlled, they will fear that it will not serve as a very good store of value or standard of deferred payment, and there will be a "flight" into other monies or goods.

Advantage of Money. The basic advantages of the use of money are much grander than could be inferred from the sum of its functions. The use of money facilitates very fine specialization in production, the division of labor according to comparative advantage, for the members of the working generations. I don't have to find a gas station whose proprietor will exchange hi-test gasoline for lecture tickets, cash will do. National output and welfare are substantially higher than if each man mainly provided for his own needs, bartering a little on the side where the benefit clearly exceeded the awful bother of barter.

A good monetary system facilitates the operation of the principle of comparative advantage across time, or across generations, as well. The working generations consume less than they produce; part of their excess output supports the very young, who would otherwise perish; another part supports the young who could survive, but whose comparative advantage in the production of 1980 goods relative to 1968 goods is so great that they are kept in school and out of the work-force; and the third part of the excess of the working generation's output over its consumption is invested in claims on future output, claims acquired by giving up claims on current output.

My father, now retired, had a comparative advantage in the production of 1927 through 1967 goods, relative to production of post-1967 goods. His pension is a claim on current output, a miniscule portion of which I am producing. I have a comparative advantage in 1968 production relative to post year-2000 production, and hope eventually to make adequate preparation for my consumption after the turn of the century.

But all this depends on money serving as an adequate standard of deferred payment, and store of value. If it fails these functions, I will be unable to spread my consumption over time in the most beneficial, or optimal, pattern. At 80 years of age I may have to grow potatoes in order to eat them, instead of successfully trading claims on 1968 output for claims on year 2018 potato output.

Money and International Trade. The gains from international trade are similar to the gains from division of labor according to comparative advantage within an economy, both across industries and functions, and across time or generations. Equally, the gains from international trade are greatly facilitated and widened by agreement on the use of monies between nations. A developing country can consume and invest a total value greater than its production if it can arrange to receive a capital inflow, that is, to attract net foreign investment.

Many financial transactions between residents of nations operating anonymously in private markets are more subtle, but no less productive of gains from exchange. If the residents of one region are risk-averters, preferring short-term, safe investments, while residents of other regions are willing to bear higher risk for higher yield, and we allow a capital market to develop between them, it will not be surprising if the conservative group makes net sales of long-term, risky assets and net purchases of short-term assets, while the more adventurous group issues short-term claims and gives up short-term assets in exchange for long-term.

All this will be possible if rules of international monetary usage can be established. Incidentally, in the last example, the nation of residents who prefer risk with high yield and make the appropriate exchanges resembles the United States of recent years. And the rules of the international monetary road are so confused that our own Department of Commerce looks at the perfectly rational exchange described above as a contribution to the deficit in our balance of payments!

Trends Don't Move Together. The analogies between individuals or regions within a domestic economy and the international economy break down when it is realized that national economies are insufficiently integrated through the goods and capital markets for trends in their economic performance to move together.

One national economy may be suffering widespread unemployment and slow growth of economic activity while giving up net, liquid claims on the rest of the world (running a balance of payments deficit). The rest of the world may at the same time enjoy a boom, overfull domestic employment and rapid growth, plus the matching surplus in its balance of payments. The result will be severe policy conflicts. This situation, incidentally, describes the U.S. (in the role of deficit country with underfull employment) and Western Europe (in the role of surplus country with boom) in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

Balance of Payments. Suppose one international monetary rule has been agreed on--that exchange rates are to be more or less fixed. Devaluation is to be avoided, especially if foreigners hold substantial quantities of assets denominated in your national money. Further suppose that wages, prices, and money costs are more flexible upwards than downwards.

The balance of payments is a record of transactions between residents of one nation and the rest of the world.

A "deficit" in the balance of payments describes an excess of purchases of goods, securities, etc., from the rest of the world over sales to the rest of the world, an excess that cannot be covered in ordinary commercial channels at current exchange rates. To be in surplus is to be on the other side; to have been a net seller of goods, or net acquirer of short-term claims, or both.

In recent years (1958-1964), the U.S. sold, say $6 or $8 billion more in goods and services to the rest of the world than it purchased. In other words, exports exceeded imports by a large amount. Although the excess of exports over imports was great, it was still less than the sum of our foreign aid donations, our foreign military expenditures, and our private long-term ("direct") investments. One result was that foreigners accumulated dollars (short-term claims on the U.S.) in greater quantities than they desired to hold permanently. Some foreign central banks, and, in effect, some foreign citizens bought U.S. gold with their excess dollars. That was an unsatisfactory trade on all sides if it had been possible to assure them that alternative investments would have been superior.

Policies to Control the Balance of Payments. The importance of the balance of payments for economic policy is illustrated by the following table.

Prevailing Condition		Action to be taken in the interest of		
Net income in surplus country	Net income in deficit country	External balance	Internal balance in surplus country	Internal balance in deficit country
High	Low	S+ D-	S- D-	S+ D+

(S represents the surplus country; D the deficit country. The plus sign represents expansionary policies; the minus sign deflationary policies.)

The chart shows that each country should do in terms of its own internal needs and in terms of the needs of the international trade and payments situation. Thus, in the interest of external balance, the surplus country should adopt expansionary policies; to promote its own internal balance, it should adopt deflationary policies; and in the interest of the internal balance of the deficit country, it should adopt expansionary policies. The conflict is clear: Policies that will promote internal balance for the deficit country and that will promote external balance will at the same time be detrimental to its own internal balance, its goals of growth and full employment. Policies adopted by the deficit country to promote its own internal balance will be in conflict with the policies that should be adopted in the interest of external balance and the internal balance of the surplus country.

The chart illustrates that there is some kernel of truth to DeGaulle's charges that the U.S. is exporting inflation by continuing its expansionary policies. Some type of compromise obviously is called for, in view of these conflicts. One way out would be to devalue the dollar, except that foreigners hold lots of dollars. Foreigners and Americans make utility and profit promoting transactions in very efficient "dollar denominated" financial markets. World output and satisfaction are advanced through countless transactions in goods and financial assets that are less costly because of the acceptability of dollars as unit of references, and, at least for short periods, means of payment and store of value. Some economists believe dollar devaluation would damage these efficient world markets, and that dollar devaluation would be followed by sufficient devaluation of other currencies that it might be both futile and damaging. Dollar devaluation could help, if 'twere done when 'tis done, but because of its uncertain accompanying or additional effects, including private and official responses, it has been avoided. To date, we have not devalued the dollar and we have not chosen one goal or the other. Instead, we have sought to discourage consumer spending abroad, and U.S. foreign investment.

Gold Complicates Problems. As if these conflicts were not bad enough, the gold tradition drapes heavy veils between understanding of the problems and seeing the better solutions.

Years ago, in a House of Commons heavily infested with enthusiasts for one version or another of monetary reform, Disraeli said that he had come to the conclusion that more men had been knocked off their balance by gold than by love.

Disraeli might make the same observation today. At the September 1964 Tokyo meetings of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund, Valery Giscard D'Estaing, then Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs of France, spoke ecstatically of the "inner circle of gold." Four months later at his famous January 1965 press conference, D'Estaing's boss, Charles DeGaulle, glorified gold, "which does not change in nature, which can be made either into bars, ingots, or coins, which has no nationality, which is considered, in all places and at all times, the immutable and fiduciary value par excellence." He disparaged dollars, which they (the U.S.) alone can issue, instead of gold, "which has real value."

The romantic attachment to gold assures only two things: (1) that resources better used elsewhere will be used to dig gold from the ground here to reenter it in a vault there, (2) that both speculators and political leaders will use gold bars for political leverage and financial gain, to the disruption of the international payments system.

Implications of Fixed Metal Standard. Suppose a true domestic and international gold standard were adopted, fixing the value of money in terms of gold and rigidly keeping some fixed relationship between the money supply and the gold stock.

The marginal cost of gold production varies with the quantity produced; and the technical change, the ingenuity of mining engineers, and entrepreneurs searching out new ores will shift the world marginal cost function itself. Moreover, gold is the by-product of the production of other minerals. The copper mining strike in the U.S. in 1967, and continuing through today, is one reason 1967 gold output was less than in the previous year. Changes in the demand for copper, technical changes that were copper-saving or new innovations that were copper-using, greatly increasing the public's demand for copper, would change the stock of gold--and the money supply!

Just as the monetary use of silver would, and for some years did, keep the price of photography, some chemicals, and electrical circuits higher than they would otherwise have been, the monetary use of gold would ensure a much higher cost of all outputs using gold as an input. Dentistry for all citizens, a fashion for gold faucets, or unrest in South Africa would affect the supply of money. Gold suppliers not fully "in" the world market could use their ability to release new gold supplies into the West for their own purposes; I have in mind the USSR, said to own the greatest gold deposits of all. A little prosperity in India, a country without good capital markets for all levels of the population, probably would result in a massive in-smuggling of gold that would set back the money supply elsewhere.

To say that a gold standard is desirable because the supply of gold is limited by its cost of production is such a small part of the whole story that it is nearly false. The monetary gold stock depends on the cost of production of gold, the demand for gold for other than monetary uses, the cost of production of other minerals and the demand for products incorporating them and much else.

Goods--Value of Money. In all this, the paradox is that while the gold value of money would be fixed, it is likely true that the goods value of gold and therefore money would be quite variable. Technical progress, capital accumulation, and population growth, plus changes in tastes, are sure to change the TV set-value of the dollar, the steak-value of the dollar, the house-value of the dollar, etc., and it is these goods-values of the dollar with which we are ultimately concerned in judging the effectiveness of a monetary system. If changes in the goods-value of the dollar occur, not because of changes in tastes, technology, supplies, or total population, but rather because of arbitrary redistribution of wealth through pure inflation or deflation, with consequent disruption of rational planning, it would be of no comfort to be reminded that the dollar was still as good as gold. Spokesmen for a fixed monetary standard have always expressed a preference for "rules" laid down by this generation to cover the behavior of future generations of monetary officials. As Samuelson has remarked, "In principle, the choice has never been between discretionary and nondiscretionary action; for when men set up a definitive mechanism which is to run forever afterward by itself, that involves a single act of discretion which transcends, in both its arrogance and its capacity for potential harm, any repeated acts of foolish discretion that can be imagined."

Gold and the Future. Suppose rule-makers did not foresee a cashless society, and its consequent increase in velocity or fall in liquid claims relative to income. A gold standard, or fixed annual increase in money supply, could commit us to great inflation.

Unfortunately gold has caught the national vanity. Our chief tormentor, DeGaulle, has a case as long as we view the international monetary system as one that will not, in the future, approach closer and closer international integration of economics.

And nations will continue to torment us with the gold bug even if they really don't intend to go the whole distance and wreck the system. That they seem to deny their joint interest in a better international monetary system, while not destroying the old until the new is ready, is the inadequate hypocrisy of all bargaining.

This "bad faith" makes for long periods of frustration, and poor and unstable agreements. That is the pessimistic side. The optimistic side is that the negotiators always seem, by reason of their bad faith, further from agreement than they really are. Until agreement on small improvements in the international monetary system is reached, agreement that will show gold to have been, and to continue to be, a public placebo, those who find it politically profitable will threaten us with the gold bug.

Discussion

Perhaps because previous discussion had not laid sufficient groundwork for discussion of gold and international exchange, perhaps because the presentation was not sufficiently broken down to a study of the basic principles, many ministers said they gained little understanding of the topic. The principal unanswered question in their minds was the true relation of gold to the value of the dollar. If gold does not give actual value to and guarantee the dollar, what does? And, if gold is not necessary to the dollar, why does it remain such a crucial item in international economic policy and debate today?

What Is the Role of Gold? What is the function of gold in our economic system? According to Ball, it is window dressing. The United States has never strictly limited the amount of money in circulation to X times the amount of gold held in federal reserves, he said. The ratio of the U.S. gold stock to the amount of money in circulation has, in fact, fluctuated greatly. In other words, one minister said, we do not have enough gold to cover the money in circulation, while DeGaulle is seeming to insist that we back our currency 100 percent. "I don't think he really believes that," Ball said, "but he is using it for political pressure."

Causes of the Gold Drain. What has happened so that we are losing gold, and why should we be concerned about the situation? According to Ball, foreign banks have been converting their dollar holdings into gold. Because the U.S. is committed to holding the price of gold at $35 an ounce, it must supply this foreign demand of gold for dollars. The United States has been exporting goods and services worth around $6 to $8 billion more per year than the goods it has been importing. At the same time, military expenditures abroad, foreign aid and direct investments in foreign countries have run about $11 billion per year. Thus we have ended up giving the rest of the world sizable short-term claims (dollars) on the United States. When these countries would not hold these claims in the dollar form, but insisted on gold or their own currency, then the gold drain begain. The view of many economists, Ball said, is "good riddance." Gold provides security, but is does no work--it earns no interest.

Maintaining the Dollar. Suppose foreigners were not allowed to exchange dollars for gold, as citizens of the U.S. are not. Would this not put certain responsibilities on the U.S. to act to maintain world confidence in the dollar? Even without gold in the picture, the fixed currency exchange rate would create the same policy conflicts as were outlined in the chart. The problem with gold, Ball said, is that it is clouding the issue. The value of the dollar is its ability to purchase goods, not the amount of gold held in reserve to guarantee it.

The International Monetary System. How do you evaluate the mix of technical versus political considerations in developing a true international and integrated monetary system? We have had a prosperous period for the last 20 years under the free market system, Ball said. But many domestic systems have lost a great deal of their sovereignty, and we are moving toward integration of world financial markets. The United States is the only government in the world that promises to buy and sell gold at a fixed price ($35 an ounce). It is valid to ask if gold has value because of the country's dollar policy. It has been proposed that the United States discontinue this policy. The International Monetary Fund could hold the world's gold stocks as a sort of international tranquilizer.

Popularity of the Dollar. The dollar, in effect, is today's international currency. It is popular in international exchange because it is one of the least regulated currencies.

Direct Investment in France. One of DeGaulle's grievances with the United States is the direct investment of our corporations in the French economy. Not only are U.S.-based firms acquiring part of France's industry, but we are able to export to France technology that costs us little to give up and earns us fat royalties from the French, Ball said. Through this export of technology, American firms can acquire substantial investments in many foreign countries.

Farm Policies in a Full Employment Economy

W. D. Toussaint, Head of the Department of Economics at North Carolina State University, spoke on farm policies in a full employment and a full production economy.

Agriculture in the 1930's. In the 1930's, when unemployment rates were very high, there was some movement from the cities back to the farms. Agriculture at that time engaged a much greater proportion of the population --about 25 percent as compared to less than 6 percent today. The common cry of the 1930's was "As agriculture goes, so goes the nation." There was always a question of just how true this was, according to Toussaint. A good deal of it was political.

Same Problems Remain in Prosperity. "The theory that solving the farm problem would solve the unemployment problem is fairly silly," Toussaint said. In today's period of high employment, we still have many of the same farm problems. And within seven years, the total employment in agriculture is expected to be less than the total unemployment in the nation.

Some of the farm problems of the 1930's remain with us today. Farms produce products for which demand grows very slowly, primarily in proportion to the population growth. Exports are high, but they are made primarily through the subsidy programs. Extreme technology advances (roughly twice as great as in other sectors of the economy) have produced surplus crops while reducing the number of workers. The demand curve increases primarily because of the population growth, the supply curve at a greater rate because technology enables us to produce more cheaper. This was what was happening in the 1930's, and it is what is happening today. In the 1930's, farm income was very low, about 30 to 40 percent of the level of nonfarm income. Even in 1966, a good year for the farmer, farm income was about 66 percent of the level of nonfarm income. This fact has encouraged the large-scale migration from the farm to the city.

Basic Agricultural Policies. Our basic agricultural policies, developed in the 1930's, have been:

1. price supports at a relatively high level,
2. land control or retirement.

These policies at first seemed to help all of agriculture. But as time has passed, they have worked to benefit primarily the consumer and the large farm units.

In choosing policy, we have been faced with a major conflict. We want a commercial agricultural policy rather than a program to support the poor, small farm. But poverty in agriculture is a real problem, a problem affecting a great number of people. The solution lies in viewing and acting on farm poverty as a part of the larger national poverty problem rather than as an agricultural problem, Toussaint said.

Effects of Traditional Farm Policies. These two basic policies have:

1. decreased the risk factor and encouraged more production,
2. increased farm incomes, particularly for the large farmers,
3. probably kept more people working in agriculture,
4. discouraged efforts of developing nations by encouraging export of American farm abundance,
5. done little to help the poor.

Current Trends in Farm Policies. There have been some shifts lately toward direct payments to farmers. Price supports have been lowered to levels nearer world prices, and farmers have been granted subsidies only for specified portions of production. There still remains some subsidy of export production, but Congress claims it is moving more toward a policy of food aid and farther away from a policy of simply disposing of surpluses.

Policies for the Future. Are we moving in the right direction? There is no reason to set up policies to keep people in agriculture simply to prevent unemployment, Toussaint said. We want, rather, to make agriculture as efficient as possible in supplying our own needs, and probably in producing some surplus to meet the immediate needs of other parts of the world.

What types of policies should we adopt to gain that efficiency, that measure of stability in demand and prices? In general, future policies are likely to be more oriented to the fluctuations and realities of the world market. Prices will be supported near the world market price in an effort to prevent large surpluses. And subsidies will be more in the nature of direct payments, making their amount obvious to the consumer. More specifically:

1. Some payments will be made on the basis of the parity of income concept. This will be most important for the small farmer.
2. We will become very conscious of world agricultural trade, and subsidy payments will be geared to keep domestic prices near the world trade level. This will have the threefold effect of preventing domestic surpluses and subsequent dumping on the world market, of protecting foreign production, and of making U.S. agricultural products more available to the world through lower prices.
3. We will adopt a more overt food aid policy to help those nations in need, but will use it only where real need clearly exists. In less desperate situations, we will attempt to give technological aid, stimulating the recipient nation's own production.
4. We will maintain a strategic reserve.
5. We will discontinue payments for land improvement and clearance programs.
6. There will be an emphasis on general education in the rural areas.

Discussion

Discussion, for the most part, was limited to forms of aid for nations unable to meet their own agricultural needs.

Local Labor Problems. A minister from a large agricultural area in Eastern North Carolina stated that some farmers in his area are giving up tobacco production because of inability to hire labor. Tobacco farmers in the general area are caught in a price-labor squeeze because tobacco farming is not yet heavily mechanized, Toussaint said. In farming in general, consolidations and mechanization are at a lower level in Eastern North Carolina than in the country as a whole, he added. Large, efficient farms will be possible, he said, only in the coastal plains and tidewater regions. The amount of land in farming in North Carolina is declining, primarily in the Piedmont.

Agricultural Aid Abroad. A minister cited studies that have indicated Africa and India, over the next 35 years, will not be able to raise their agricultural production enough to prevent widespread starvation among their peoples. How can the United States act in this transition period to alleviate starvation effectively without crippling their production growth rate? Real gains can be made in the area of population control, Toussaint said. The United States will be in the position of being required to give direct food aid, "but I worry about a policy of overproducing here and getting people dependent on U.S. surpluses," he said. Education and technical assistance are our major responsibilities. The U.S., for instance, is conducting research and developing plant varieties adapted to the growing conditions in the regions involved.

Direct food aid is an expensive proposition for this country, Mangum added.

Trade Instead of Aid. Ball suggested that instead of direct food aid, more emphasis be put on reciprocal trade--foodstuffs for foreign textiles, for instance. Many foreign goods, he pointed out, are barred by high tariffs or gentlemen's agreements in the business community. The U.S. is acting, in some instances to keep nations out of the free market where they could make economic gains, then is offering them foreign aid, Ball said.

The Federal Budget

Barry Friedman, Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics, North Carolina State University, discussed the budget of the federal government.

General Spending Categories. Picking up a copy of the budget, he told the group, "It's a big book; there's an awful lot in it--most of it not very interesting." The printed copy of the budget, however, can answer several broad questions, as well as provide staggering amounts of specific information, he said. How does the government spend its money? In the broad picture, we are spending 45 percent of our resources on defense, 20 percent on health, labor and welfare. The broad policy planner, trying to decide on a reallocation of resources, can look at the budget and see what choices currently are being made. He can look through several budgets over a period, and see what the pattern of choices has been. For example, the proportion of the budget spent on defense over the last four years has been constant, though the actual amount has risen. All other expenditures have been rising in approximately the same proportion over the period.

Surplus and Deficit. You can also calculate from the budget the government surplus or, as it usually happens, the deficit. In the case of a deficit, the government has to borrow to make up the difference, thus raising the federal debt.

"Suppose there's a big deficit," Friedman said. "This scares some people to death; others are not so concerned." Many are more concerned, he said, with problems in other areas, such as unemployment. What happens to unemployment may be related to what happens to the deficit. In determining policy at the national level, the deficit must be looked at in its relation to such factors as employment levels, he said. "It's not a simple question of good and bad."

Deficit as a Measure of Economic Activity. The budget also can be looked at as a measure of the index of economic activity in the country and of the government's impact on the level of economic activity. What is the impact of the government? Increases in government expenditures stimulate the economy, while increases in taxes tend to restrain it by cutting back the demand level. The size of the federal deficit, then, may be seen as some index of the government's impact on the economic activity level, although changes in the deficit may give more information than the level of the deficit itself.

Having accepted the deficit as an imperfect index of government impact on the economy, what then is its relation to the employment level? The general level of demand for goods and services determines to a great extent the level of employment. Government expenditures are as good a source of demand as any in terms of effect on the economy, and those expenditures are large. By increasing expenditures, usually resulting in an increase in the deficit, the government raises the level of demand and raises the level of employment. By increasing taxes, the government generally cuts the level of private consumer demand and thus lowers the level of employment. The budget is a good source of information on what the government is putting into the system and what it is taking out.

When demand can not be increased in the private sector, the government can step in with two policies--cutting taxes or raising expenditures. When taxes are cut, the deficit gets bigger; when expenditures are raised, the deficit gets bigger. What is required to halt a depression trend? An increase in the deficit. What is required to boost the employment level? An increase in the deficit. "Maybe a deficit is evil," Friedman said, "but unemployment is a greater evil."

In the case of inflation, the problem is too much demand. To cut back the level of demand, the government raises taxes and reduces expenditures. This in turn will act to reduce the deficit, perhaps to the point of converting it to a surplus.

"So the amount of the deficit is some index of what impact the government is having on the economy," Friedman said. "It's not a precise one; it's not a very good one. But it is some index."

Direct and Indirect Government Action. Different kinds of government expenditures have different kinds of impact on the economy. When the government actually buys goods or hires labor, it acts directly on the demand level. It also acts indirectly at the same time--by raising wage earnings, for instance, and increasing purchasing power. When the government makes transfer payments, such as welfare or social security, no new production takes place initially. Thus the impact on the economy is indirect. Tax increases likewise are indirect in their effect on reducing production. To calculate the net effect of any combination of these policies, each part must be considered and calculated individually.

Discussion

Friedman at this point encouraged the ministers to ask their questions as he proceeded with the presentation.

Government Debt. On the subject of government debt, he asked: Is there any particular harm in running a national debt? He was asked, in turn, about the mounting interest charges created by debt. The government accumulates funds to pay that interest, Friedman said, by collecting taxes. Everyone loses by paying the taxes, but some get the money back as interest. But the income of the economy as a whole stays the same. In other words, a simple redistribution process takes place within the economy, having no net effect on the total economy. Because this is an unplanned redistribution, it may be somewhat inequitable.

Risk of Bankruptcy. What about the risk of government bankruptcy? The government will be in trouble, Friedman said, only when people no longer will lend it money. But bonds are considered safe, liquid assets and people like to hold them for these reasons. If the government wants to stimulate sale of bonds, it needs only to raise the interest rate offered. When the government gets to the point that it can't sell bonds, it will be because it has lost the confidence of the people and is about to go under.

Burden on the Future. Isn't growing indebtedness a burden we are creating for our children? Government debt, Friedman said, is not fully comparable to individual debt. The individual finds definite advantages in borrowing. But he must be able to give up future resources in order to pay back the debt. He cannot over-allocate those future resources. The government also has to pay back its debt, but it does not have to give up its command over resources in order to make payment. This is true as long as the debt is not held by foreign interests. In that case, the government does have to make a transfer, giving up resources. But when the government borrows from its own citizens, it pays both interest and principal from tax revenue, with no resulting loss of resources to the domestic economy. The economy gets back the same resources it has given up.

The Debt and Foreign Aid. What about going into debt for foreign aid? Wouldn't we be giving up resources? One approach to foreign aid, Friedman explained, encourages the recipient nation to use dollar credits to buy U.S. goods. This does not always happen, and there is some resulting loss of resources.

Why Not Rely on Taxes? Why the complications of bonds? Why not simply cover the deficit by raising taxes? Suppose, Friedman said, you want to stimulate the economy. To do so, you would raise government expenditures. If you then pay for these increased expenditures by raising taxes, you have, in effect, cancelled yourself out. When the government borrows money, it has a different effect on the economy than when it raises taxes. When the government raises taxes, it decreases the wealth of the individual; when it sells bonds, it does not. The individual still has the bond, which he can cash or sell.

The Eisenhower Administration. Why was the U.S. able to more nearly maintain a balanced budget during the Eisenhower administration? The economy, during Eisenhower's two terms, tended to be sluggish and was characterized by a series of minor recessions, according to Friedman. Eisenhower was terribly afraid of inflation, more so than of unemployment. Johnson, on the other hand, has stimulated the economy. We now have what amounts to full employment, along with inflationary pressures. Should the war in Vietnam level off or be reduced, we could manage the inflationary pressures; should it escalate, we definitely will have inflation unless there is a tax increase.

Growth of National Debt. One minister stated that it seemed the economy was forced to grow simply to keep up with the growth of the national debt. Friedman pointed out that from 1946 to 1966, the debt grew 19 percent, or less than 1 percent a year.

A depression, or a period of recessions such as was experienced in these years, means a high level of unemployment, a low level of demand, and an increased amount of government spending, financed by bonds--new debt. The debt should climb in such a period, and did.

By the end of 1967, the debt stood at $345 billion. Interest on the debt for 1967 amounted to $12.5 billion, approximately 1.5 percent of the total 1967 GNP of $800 billion.

When one minister expressed concern that the economy might be headed for bankruptcy, Maddox stated that the U.S. can handle rising debt as long as it continues to increase its output. And a high ratio of debt to GNP may not impede growth at all Friedman said.

U.S. Bonds as Investments. Are U.S. bonds a good financial investment for the average man? "We're experiencing inflationary growth of 2 percent a year," said one minister. "What does this mean for me if I buy bonds that pay a 4 percent return? I seem to lose." For big business, Friedman said, government bonds perform certain functions--they are liquid and they are secure. Small investors could probably find assets yielding larger returns, but such assets probably also involve more risk. The choice for any one investor comes down to the subjective matter of balancing risk against expected return.

Who pays interest on bonds and who receives it? Isn't there a transfer to those who already are relatively well off? Friedman agreed this is probably true. Everyone pays taxes, while bonds generally are held by the wealthier segment of the population. Banks, life insurance companies, and the wealthy own the large blocks of government bonds. It was suggested that this could be offset by changing the progression rate of taxes. Would this destroy any incentive for buying bonds?

Limits to Deficit. Are there any limits to the deficit built up in any given year? If not, why not adequately finance the war on poverty now? According to Friedman, this could be done, but such action would be inflationary. It would raise demands to the point where resources could not begin to meet them. The resulting bidding for resources would start a real inflationary spiral.

The Mills-Johnson Debate. Friedman was questioned on the meanings of recent confrontations between Congressman Wilber Mills of the House Finance Committee and the Johnson administration. What Congressman Mills and other members of Congress are seeking actually is a cut in domestic programs, notably the OEO and aid to education, it was stated. Friedman agreed that Mills and other Congressmen would not concede the 10 percent tax surcharge without accompanying cuts in government expenditures in domestic programs. Jerry West explained Mills' argument that a cut in expenditures would guarantee that the surcharge would be only a temporary measure. "He doesn't like the ratio of spending in the public sector versus the private sector," West said, "which is just another way of saying he doesn't like the way the government is spending its money--OEO, aid to education," Friedman agreed.

Labor Unions and Full Employment

A. J. Bartley, Associate Professor in the Department of Economics, North Carolina State University, discussed labor unions and full employment.

Uneasy Triangle. Some of our policy goals form what is called the "uneasy triangle"--specifically, full employment, free collective bargaining and price stability. We can't have all three at the same time, Bartley said.

The number one economic problem in this century has been maintaining full employment. During a single year in the Kennedy administration, losses from unemployment equalled the total losses due to all strikes since 1928. Since the last war, the unemployment level has been 5 to 6 percent, despite growth of the economy and a high level of economic activity. More recently, the rate of unemployment dropped to 3.5 percent, the lowest level in 15 years. This occurred at a time marked by inflationary pressures.

Indeed, one danger of full employment is that it tends to overheat the economy and produce inflation. The aim, therefore, has been to maintain a high level, not full employment.

Effectiveness of Unions. It is in a time of inflation that labor unions become prominent in the economic picture. Labor unions cannot do a great deal to alter the wage scale over a long period of time, Bartley said. The distribution of income between the property sector and the labor sector has remained fairly constant over the last 40 years. For one thing, collective bargaining is a fairly recent development and still only involves 28 percent of the nonagricultural labor force. Labor gains are publicized, but over the long run they amount to slicing a larger pie in the same proportions.

Percentage of Total Income Received by Labor and Capital

	1929	1933	1940	1947	1955	1965
Labor:	68	83	74	75	78	81
Capital:	32	17	26	25	22	19

Theories of Inflation. What causes inflation? The old theory has been that inflation is caused by an excess demand pull, such as was experienced right after World War II when there was great demand for durable goods--automobiles, furniture and appliances. More recently, some economists have been maintaining that inflation is caused by a wage push--free collective bargaining, continually pushing for labor pay increases. "You can question this," Bartley said. "It does happen, but the answer is not that simple." The theory that the cost of higher wages is added directly to the price does not hold up, he said. Other factors enter in--the elasticity of demand for the product, the competition of comparable products. Also, management can sometimes substitute capital for labor and maintain the existing price level without suffering any loss in profits.

Bargaining Room. Theoretically, market forces (supply and demand) set wages. But because of imperfections in the market system, including lack of mobility in the labor force, we end up with a wage rate range. The range varies not only from industry to industry, but also from firm to firm. In an isolated non-union textile mill located in a predominantly agricultural area, management is free to pay anywhere within the range it chooses. In aheavily industrialized area, with active unionism, management has little leeway. These imperfections in the market allow a rate range and give unions their operating area for collective bargaining. The bargaining theory of wages is made possible because of imperfections in the market.

Wage-Price Guidelines. Returning to inflation, Bartley defined it in terms of the relation between the money wage and what it will buy. If wages increase faster than the productivity of the economy or its major industries, we have inflation. Even in a monopolistic, or semi-monopolistic situation, we generally do have increased productivity. This increase can be channeled into higher profits or higher wages or consumer savings. In the auto industry, management appears to have chosen higher profits with higher wages and an increase in prices. In such a situation where demand is strong, the parties, through multiple bargaining, and administered prices, may feed inflation. To protect wages we have a floor in the minimum wage law and to prevent inflation we have a ceiling in wage-price guidelines which are related to productivity increases. The difficulty with the wage-price guidelines is that their application is strictly voluntary. In addition, certain groups, primarily professional people, have no guidelines at all. Further difficulty with the guidelines is that they seem to apply only in industry-wide bargaining--autos, steel, etc. Union officials claim the guidelines are used only to hold down wages; and, in any case, the guidelines do not seem to be effective.

Discussion

The body of the discussion centered around the low level of labor skills and wages in the South.

In the area of federal controls of inflation, Bartley was asked if the government could fix prices without fixing wages. The two, he said, go hand in hand.

Training Hard-Core Unemployed. He also was asked if training the so-called "unemployables" and putting them to work would contribute to inflation. The U.S., he said, has a tight labor market at present. Those who remain unemployed constitute a base, normal, frictional unemployment. If the hard-core unemployed could be trained to work productively, Maddox said, the resulting increase in the output of the economy would constitute their wages. He saw no particular reason for their employment to further inflation.

Labor in the South. One minister cited recent charges that the Department of Conservation and Development has made a point of advertising cheap labor in its efforts to attract new industries. In the South, Bartley said, labor may be exploited. But it is attracting capital, and a better ratio of capital and labor will result. The advertisement of cheap labor may be to the advantage of labor over the long run, he said. To date, however, North Carolina and much of the South has tended to attract "fly-by-night" low-wage industries that contribute little to the economy of the region.

David Ball stated that he has a more pessimistic view of the situation in the South. There are two sticky kinds of resources--labor and natural resources--he said. A good deal of the South's recent growth has been due to an excess of both, with the large supply of unskilled labor constituting our real competitive advantage. The way to attack the problem, he said, is first to spend a good deal of money in developing human resources. Until them, the area will be unable to attract or supply high-skill industries.

North Carolina does have one of the lowest average industrial wage levels in the nation, Bartley said. The state level is $2.05 per hour versus a national average of $2.85. Ball added that within a given industry, the state wage level is close to the national average, but that North Carolina falls behind in its concentration of industries with low-skill and low-wage workers.

County Industry Hunters. Are the county industrial development groups the ones most responsible for bringing in low-wage industries such as garment factories? The counties, Bartley said, are faced with the fact that they have a certain type of labor they want employed. He pointed out that the real need is for a greater industrial mix. If the great majority of a community is employed in textiles and the industry hits a slump, then the community has nothing to cushion the economic blow.

In summation, Maddox said North Carolina and the South will continue to be attractive to low-wage industries because of the great numbers of unskilled workers leaving the farms. The only alternatives, he said, are a great out-migration or intensive programs of training.

Work or Leisure

Juanita Kreps of the Department of Economics at Duke University spoke on the implications of increased leisure time in a highly mechanized age. Following is a condensation of her presentation.

Leisure Seen as Void. Twentieth century views of leisure are often difficult to fathom. In contrast to Aristotle's belief that "the goal of war is peace, of business, leisure," the uneasy feeling that life with little work has little purpose seems to pervade much of today's thought. Contemporary writers often deplore the growing freedom from work, which provides "a great emptiness," devoid of meaning. Lacking training for leisure and having no strong interests or devotions, one author argues, persons without work lead dismal lives. The void created by leisure has thus replaced "... the days when unremitting toil was the lot of all but the very few and leisure was still a hopeless yearning." In less extreme form concern is frequently voiced over the idleness forced upon youth because of lack of job opportunities, and the elderly because of early and compulsory retirement from work.

Should Leisure Be Earned? Americans have traditionally believed, according to Margaret Mead, that leisure should be earned before it is enjoyed. The function of recreation is to prepare man for further work, and as soon as it appears that there will be more time available than is actually needed for this purpose.

> ... Alarm spreads over the country. People are going to have too much leisure .... This means more time than is needed to relax and get back to work again--unearned time, loose time, time which, without the holding effects of fatigue before and fatigue to come, might result in almost anything.

Unfortunately, experience has indicated that changes in the relationship between time at work and time free for leisure have often resulted in boredom and apathy, or excessive and frantic activity. But the philosophy that leisure must be earned and reearned has changed since World War II, the author continues. It is the home and family that now stand center stage, and the job is subsidiary to the good life. Men value jobs that allow them a maximum of time at home and a minimum of strain and overwork on the job.

Pressures for Reduced Workweek. The extent of any change in attitude toward leisure is difficult to estimate, although there is ample evidence, both in the pressure for a statutory reduction in the workweek and in union negotiations for reduced hours per week, longer vacations, earlier retirement, etc., that increased free time is being actively pursued. The critical question of whether this pursuit reflects a genuine desire for free time, or whether it is primarily an attempt to increase the number of jobs, appears not to be at issue currently. Instead, labor leaders usually argue that as long as there is unemployment the workweek is too long, and, according to an article in the November 1956 Monthly Labor Review,

> ... Aside from the workers' desire for their paid holidays and paid vacations, there is no evidence that workers want shorter daily or weekly hours. The evidence is all on the other side. Hundreds of local and international officials have testified that the most numerous and persistent grievances are disputes over the sharing of overtime work. The issue is not that he has been made to work, but that he has been deprived of a chance to make overtime pay. Workers are eager to increase their income, not to work fewer hours.

Forms of Leisure. The question of whether increases in nonworking time are chosen in preference to increased incomes or whether leisure will grow only as a result of efforts to spread the work may turn, in part, on the form of the potential leisure. A reduction in the workweek, for example, may have much less utility to the worker than an increase in vacation time. Leisure in the form of early retirement may have the lowest utility of any form of free time (save unemployment). If free time is to grow as technology improves, the form in which this leisure emerges is of some significance. Not only does the temporal distribution of leisure affect its value; the distribution of income through the life cycle is also influenced by the apportionment of working and nonworking time.

The distribution of leisure and earned income through the lifespan and the economic implications of different distributive arrangements are important issues. Certain central questions reappear in different contexts:

1. What are the present dimensions of leisure, both for the individual worker and for the economy, and to what extent will future growth confer further increases in leisure?
2. When is free time preferred to income, and vice versa?
3. What are the preferred forms and temporal distributions of leisure?
4. What institutional arrangements will be necessary to accommodate the increases in total leisure made possible by economic growth, and to facilitate the preferred distribution of this leisure through the lifespan?

Leisure Options in the Future. In examining the leisure-time possibilities of present rates of productivity increase and economic growth, the tools are simple arithmetic. But with output per man-hour doubling in less than 25 years, the results are startling. By 1985, if present trends continue, Americans can choose between (1) a $5,800 per capita GNP, (2) a 22-hour workweek, (3) a 25-week vacation, or (4) an extra 17 years in school.

The long-term trend has been to take about two-thirds in income and one-third in leisure. However, despite speculations about growing leisure, we seem to be becoming more income-oriented. During the past two decades, the split in the United States has been 9/10 to income increases and only 1/10 to leisure.

Growth and Dimensions of Leisure. Today's worker takes his nonworking time in different forms, but in total he enjoys about 1,200 hours per year more free time than did the worker of 1890. Moreover, he enjoys more years in which he doesn't work at all; he enters the labor force much later in life, and has several more years in retirement than his grandfather. In total, this increase at the beginning and the end of work life has given him about nine additional nonworking years.

Of more importance for present purposes, perhaps, is the question of the possible growth of leisure in the future. At one extreme, if one supposes that all growth, except that amount necessary to hold per capita GNP constant at the 1965 level of $3,200, is taken in leisure time, the possible increases in free time by about 1985 are as follows: (1) The workweek could fall to 22 hours by 1985; (2) or it would be necessary to work only 27 weeks of the year; (3) or retirement age could be lowered to 38 years; (4) if the choice were made to divert the new leisure into retraining, almost half the labor force could be kept in training; (5) if formal education were preferred, the amount of time available for this purpose might well exceed the normal capacity to absorb education.

It is, of course, not likely that the workweek will drop to 22 hours or that retirement age will decline to 38 years. Nor is it probable that during the next two decades workers will continue on their present schedules, thereby taking all productivity gains in the form of a greater quantity of goods and services. If, instead, two-thirds of the output growth accrues as goods and services and one-third as leisure, GNP would rise to more than a trillion dollars by 1980, and to $1.3 trillion by 1985. Per capita GNP would increase to more than $4,400 by 1980 and to approximately $5,000 in 1985.

Alternative Priorities for Future Leisure. The leisure which accounts for the remaining one-third of the growth potential could be distributed in any one way or a combination of several ways; different priorities would be assigned by different persons. (1) If it is conceded that present unemployment is due in some significant degree to qualitative deficiencies in the labor force, the first priority might be assigned to job retraining. Hence, a policy decision could be made to retrain a minimum of 1 percent of the labor force annually, taking the necessary time from that freed or released by the growth in productivity. (2) a second order of preference might be an increase in vacation time, at least until an average of one additional week accrues to the worker. (3) If after these achievements, some leisure gains are taken in the form of reductions in the workweek, working time per week could start by declining about one-half hour in 1969, the decline increasing to two and one-half hours by 1980.

Alternative allocations of leisure in the period 1980-85 might be as follows: Given a $4,413 per capita GNP in 1980, achieved with a 37.5 hour work week, a 48 week work year, and providing retraining for 1 percent of the labor force, society (1) could choose to retrain much more heavily (4.25 percent of the labor force per year) or (2) could add one and one-half weeks per year in vacation. In 1985, when per capita GNP should reach about $5,000, the choice could be between (1) retraining almost 7 percent of the labor force annually or (2) taking an additional three weeks of vacation. Obviously other choices could be made, involving a further reduction in the workweek, a lowering of retirement age, or an increased educational span for those entering the labor force.

Considerations in Allocating Leisure. Many relevant considerations are readily apparent: (1) The total amount of free time made available by the anticipated improvements in output per man-hour is extremely great, even when allowance is made for quite rapid rises in real GNP or even in per capita real GNP. (2) The allocation of this leisure is in itself quite important, given the different degrees of utility man may associate with different forms of leisure. (3) The distribution of leisure, being quite unevenly spread over the entire population, requires further consideration. For although the unequal distribution of income among persons has received great attention, it might well be true that that portion of economic growth accruing to man in the form of leisure has in fact been apportioned much less evenly than income.

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Leisure. Authors differ in their opinions as to the value of the leisure that is emerging with productivity growth. Strong views hold that the increase in free time is for the most part creating problems; workers are not coping successfully with idleness but are bored with longer periods of free time, particularly during retirement. The counterview finds that there is still far less free time than man would like. His orientation to work has been due to a need for income, rather than a love of work.

As was noted earlier, Margaret Mead holds that Americans have in the past felt it necessary to earn their leisure before they enjoyed it. But more recently, she concludes, the home ritual is absorbing the time freed by technology; new values, more appropriate to today's affluence, are replacing older values that sprang from economic scarcity. In contrast, Robert M. MacIver argues that the growing freedom from work merely provides "a great emptiness" for all but the placid people, and the placid are diminishing in number.

Robert Dubin reports that for three out of every four industrial workers he studied, work and the work place are not central life interests. Although the worker recognizes the primacy of work, he does not have a sense of total commitment to it, nor does he view his work or working relationships as the major source of his enjoyment, happiness, or sense of worth.

Our sense of responsibility for how other people spend their leisure time is characteristic of American Life. David Riesman notes that being at the frontier of the development of leisure, there are conflicts in attitudes toward its use. Knowing very little about what leisure means to people, assumptions are made that may in fact considerably understate the nation's capacity for activities which earlier work schedules have prohibited. Currently there are a number of areas of pioneering in leisure: music, painting, and literature; sociability and conversation; sports. While these fields are being developed for masses of people, anxieties as to the values of leisure and the merits of using it in particular ways are to be expected.

There are several gnawing questions for this particular audience:

1. What is the meaning of work in the American scene today?
2. If work is decreasing in importance, what fills the void?
3. Will leisure force man to confront himself?
4. Will growth in free time change our values?

Discussion

Kreps opened the discussion period by asking the ministers how they would react to increased leisure time. Would they be comfortable, or would they fell compelled to prove the time was being used "productively"?

Leisure of Masses Creates Demands on Few. Isn't the increase in leisure time for some decreasing the amount of leisure available to others, such as ministers and teachers? According to Kreps, because leisure is being generated for the masses, those who minister to the masses are having greater demands placed on their time. Studies show also that those who have control over their hours, and who are highly educated, as well as those who earn high incomes, tend to work the longest hours.

Early Retirement. In 1966, for the first time, more than half of the men who retired were below the compulsory retirement age of 65, Kreps said. Since Social Security benefits have been made available to men at the age of 62, the average retirement age has been dropping. Most of the early retirees are either very well off financially or are men forced out of the labor market. It seems likely, Kreps said, that the average retirement age will continue to drop. This will cause real problems. A man will be forced to decide what he will do with the remaining 20 years of his life, one-fourth of his total lifetime. Also he will have to plan long-term financial support for his family and for his widow. These plans will have to take into account the fact that the man and his family will be getting little or no share in the growth rate during those years, unless his income is from stock investments.

For today's retired couple, the median income is below $3,000 per year, about half the median income for younger families. The poorest among the aged are the single people. Their median income is below $1,500, again about half the median income for the younger single person. The options open to these people for augmenting their income are few indeed. Without this problem of income, Kreps said, many of the apparent psychological problems of old age might disappear.

Increasing Life Expectancy. What further complications will increased life expectancy cause? Kreps said she foresees no sudden increase in life expectancy.

Increased Service Activity. Kreps sees leisure not as a disappearance of work, but as a transfer of work from one area to another, from production of goods to the rendering of services. Don Welch, Dean of the Divinity School at Duke University, suggested that ministers could effectively utilize this development by teaching a lay ministry, by creating more supportive groupings of people.

Alternatives to Early Retirement. What are the alternatives to early retirement. Kreps said she feels people want more income, rather than more leisure. But if they are going to be forced to accept more leisure, she feels they would prefer to spread it more evenly throughout their lifetime, rather than accepting it in a chunk at the end.

General Discussion

The general panel discussion was open to all previous subjects, but centered around alternatives to early retirement and the gold crisis.

Economic Value of Leisure. One minister stated that a major problem in approaching the question of leisure is our determination to evaluate a man's status and worth in terms of his productivity and his income. Would not giving a productive man leisure throughout his life, rather than at the end, be more valuable to society? At this time, we give no monetary value to leisure, Kreps said. The only way leisure enters the GNP is through paid vacations and sabbatical stipends. But the GNP is only an indicator of economic activity, and not a way to measure a man's value or the value of his services. And it takes no account of the value of growth in leisure.

Motivating Forces in Leisure Time. During sabbatical leave, when many professional people have the option of taking a year's free time at half-pay, most tend to take a temporary job, thus maintaining or increasing the income level, Kreps pointed out. But sabbaticals may not be a good indicator of how the average man would use his free time, she added, since professors are work-oriented people, people who enjoy the work challenge. "I suspect that great numbers of people can't wait to get away from their jobs," she said. And, as they are able to get more time away from work, the important question is that of the motivating forces that will dictate the ways in which they use that time.

Delayed Entry into Work Force. One problem today, said one economist, arises from the fact that people retire too early and enter the work force too early. Are we willing to pay young people and enable them to stay out of the work force, remaining in school for several more years? The economists were asked, in turn, if the majority of these young people actually would benefit from, say, two more years in school. Devising a selective process would not be too difficult, it was answered. It was also suggested that the problems in such a policy would not be with the students so much as with the institutions and curricula. Should we terminate the war in Vietnam and, with the resulting increase in available resources, attempt to purchase additional education, the latter would be quite expensive. But allocating leisure to youth would certainly reap greater benefits than lowering retirement age. Education, she said, is the real alternative to early retirement. We continue to have early retirement, though, because we have an income mechanism to support it. We don't have any such income mechanism to support education throughout the lifetime. "We are going to have to bend the institutions," she said, "to make leisure take a more useful form." In terms of income support, she predicted that we may eventually begin paying people to perform community services now contributed by volunteers.

Leisure in the Soviet System. How does the Soviet Union allocate leisure? The problem is less severe in the Soviet Union, Carl Turner said. When a person retires, he has available built-in services that allow him to maintain his usual standard of living. The material level in the Soviet Union is not high, and services are of much greater importance than possessions.

For the working population, the workday has been lowered to 7 hours but the workweek remains six days. Because they have greater control of their internal economic processes, they can opt to continue to work. They also can subsidize work, keeping many people underemployed while maintaining their income levels. In addition, both the arts and athletics are subsidized by the state, guaranteeing the incomes of people who do not contribute to goods production or essential public services. Feather-bedding in the United States was cited as a comparable example.

Rewards of Work. Are we becoming less concerned about the money that a job pays and more concerned about reward that can be stated in other terms? Toussaint said he felt we are becoming even more oriented toward the money reward, evaluating all of our efforts and activities in terms of the financial rewards they will yield.

The U.S. Gold Reserve. Ball was asked to elaborate further on our dwindling gold reserves and the implications of the situation. We are adjusting our money supply, he said, in terms of our goals, not in terms of a tangible supply of a resource, such as gold. "I think we're beyond being stampeded on the basis of gold fluctuations, when our economy is functioning well in terms of all our other stated goals--growth, employment." Gold is being used by other countries, he said, as a bargaining lever in seeking political and economic gains. But we are working slowly toward a true international monetary system. He added, however, that even in the event of a perfectly operating agreement on an international monetary system, there would still be conflicts if the nations were not fully integrated in terms of economic trends. A good part of DeGaulle's quarrel with the U.S. is due to the fact the internal economies of the two nations are moving in different directions.

The U.S. gold reserve now stands at $12 billion. What would happen if it were to fall to, say, $1 billion? It should not produce any crisis, Ball said. True value now resides in the dollar, not in the gold reserve. Isn't the gold reserve necessary to demonstrate to foreign interests that the dollar is a reliable store of value? This already has been demonstrated, Ball said, by the stability of the goods value of the dollar. The dollar now is the lingua franca of international finance.

Exchange Rate Fluctuations. What causes fluctuations in currency exchange rates? If a country is a full member of the International Monetary Funds, it pledges to maintain, within 1 percent, an established exchange rate. But domestic inflation can change the goods value of a currency, deflate confidence in that currency and change the demand for it. In that case, it may be necessary to cut the exchange rate.

Cost of Mining Gold. What about the cost of mining gold? One trouble with tying currency to a metal standard is that the resources put into mining that metal might better be used elsewhere. Also, the metal itself may be better suited to alternative uses.

The Ultimate Money. What is the ultimate money? Faith and confidence, according to Ball. In the event of a catastrophe, neither currency nor metal would be of any use. Those who would prepare for holocaust would be better off sinking current resources in tools for farming than in stores of gold. Where there are poor capital markets, there is little confidence in currency and gold is hoarded. That is why so much gold is held in India.

Specialized Manpower Training Activities in North Carolina

State and federal manpower development programs in North Carolina were described by administrators of those programs.

Technical Institutes and Related Programs. The state system of community colleges and technical institutes was discussed by Gerald James, President of Rockingham Community College in Wentworth. North Carolina, he said, is now in a period of transition to a better balance of agriculture and industry. While agricultural employment is dropping sharply, business and industrial employment is rising. College enrollments, at the same time, have been sky-rocketing--from 45,000 in 1950 to 68,000 in 1960, with projected enrollment of 117,000 in 1970. State-supported colleges will have to absorb most of the increase, since private colleges have indicated they are not interested in much more growth. In this period of rapid growth, several gaps have remained--not only in the quantity of educational facilities but also in the types of education offered.

In 1957, industrial education centers were opened to fill the gap for those who wanted specialized vocational education, but were not interested in a traditional college education. Until this time, no schools in the state system were aimed at training technicians. By 1960, the state was operating seven industrial education centers and five junior colleges. Projections showed that the state would need 25 schools of each type of meet its needs in the near future. The idea developed of merging the two systems before each became entrenched in its own bias. Through a merger of the two types, the state projected it could meet its needs with a single system of 25 schools, eliminating a good deal of duplication in physical resources and teaching skills. The merger also would make available to technical trainees some liberal arts education.

While the merger was being urged, the community college system was launched, replacing the junior colleges. The state ended up with industrial education centers, technical institutes and community colleges. The industrial education centers now are being phased out, and the technical institutes are administered through the Department of Community Colleges. Technical institutes offer some liberal arts courses and may later be upgraded to community colleges. Community colleges offer not only two years of college instruction, but also provide one-year vocational programs, two-year technical programs and adult education. The state pays 65 percent of the cost, the county 15 percent, and the student 20 percent.

The system has served to put a two-year college education within relatively easy reach for the masses and has been met with booming enrollments, almost twice as high as predicted.

OEO and Related Programs. Paul Guthrie, Assistant Coordinator with the State Planning Task Force, spoke on manpower programs. These programs, he said, are becoming one of the biggest aspects of economic opportunity efforts, and supplemental programs now are being sought in Congress. While the level of employment in the United States is relatively high, there still remain, inside the population, groups with relatively high unemployment. The majority of the new OEO programs are being aimed at these groups.

When the OEO was established in 1964, most of the versatile funds available were directed to community action agencies for specific programs, with some fairly sizable funds reserved for experimental projects and research. The 1967 amendments delegated manpower programs developed in the interim to the Department of Labor for administration. These include:

1. Neighborhood Youth Corps--in-school, out-of-school and summer programs for the training of young people.
2. Operation Mainstream--a program started with versatile community action funds and designed to employ the chronically unemployed in community projects.
3. The Scheuer Program (new careers)--sub-professional training with no salary but with guaranteed ladders to move qualified trainees into staff positions.

4. CEP--Concentrated Employment Programs.
5. OJT--on-the-job training programs.
6. In addition, OEO operates The Job Corps--intensive residential and nonresidential vocational programs for young people, varying from basic education to computer programming, depending on the needs of the specific area.

The federal government has two other programs--Manpower Development and Training and Adult Basic Education. The 1967 amendments served largely to consolidate the authority over and coordinate all of the government's manpower development programs. OEO-originated programs still are funded through the OEO.

For the fiscal year 1966-67, North Carolina has been allocated $17.3 million for manpower programs. This includes $12.2 million for Neighborhood Youth Corps, $2 million for Scheuer programs, $1 million for Operation Mainstream, $0.8 million for other OEO-related programs, and $1.2 million for Manpower Development Corporation programs.

Guthrie said he sees real areas of promise and real areas of concern in the manpower programs. He felt there is promise in:

1. The creation of an organization to coordinate the manpower programs in the state. The Cooperative Area Manpower Programs System is now serving as a clearing house.
2. The Scheuer new careers programs, with eight projects now in the works.
3. Special impact programs such as CEP in areas where there are high unemployment and/or heavy out-migration, notably Charlotte and a 10-county area in the southeast. The federal investment in the 10-county area may run as high as $2.5 million.

He expressed concern over:

1. The establishment of urban-oriented programs in rural settings.
2. The desirability of further concentrating people in urban areas by increasing job opportunities there.
3. The possibilities of involving the whole community in these efforts.

Manpower Development Corporation Programs. George Autry, Executive Director of the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation, spoke on the programs of that agency. The primary goal of the agency is to put together an industry-oriented model manpower system for North Carolina, he said. It is a cooperative effort of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the North Carolina Fund.

While jobs are going begging in some areas of the state, the unemployment rate in Robeson County is 17 percent. The state has almost 1.5 million people who never completed the eighth grade, and more are being added to this group every year through dropouts. These people often are unemployed or underemployed (seasonally employed, marginally employed or capable of performing to a higher degree). Before they can perform successfully in industry, they need a complete re-education in habits and attitudes. They need to be taught to work by the clock, to be reliable, to practice good grooming and acceptable personal habits. The Manpower Development Corporation, faced with these situations, is experimenting with ideas for meeting them. The WPA approach of make-work can only be a stopgap, according to Autry, and the MDC is concerned primarily with jobs open in the private sector. Action components in the experimental work are:

1. The Manpower Development Center in Greensboro. Staff members took a census of the unemployed and underemployed in the area, then screened out those who did not fit industry requirements for reasons such as age. Using a staff of half professionals, half nonprofessionals, the center gives 200 hours instruction in literacy education and in attitude and motivational training. Approximately two-thirds of the program is devoted to literacy training.
2. The Computer Match System. Unskilled and unemployed laborers are tested to determine potential skills, then are matched through the computer with jobs available. They are given supportive aid--literacy training, eye glasses if needed, legal aid, housing aid, transportation aid, etc.

3. Mobility Program. Unemployed people are transported and settled in areas where jobs are available. To date, however, a high--though decreasing--percentage of these people have returned to their home areas.

The program does not deal in skill training, but prepares people for on-the-job training programs. Too many manpower development programs have trained in a vacuum, Autry said, training people for jobs that do not exist. This approach, he said, has created tremendous frustrations--frustrations that could have been avoided by industry-oriented programs.

Discussion

Quality of Teaching in Community Colleges. In a brief discussion period, James was questioned closely about the level of instruction and the quality of teaching in the community colleges. It appeared that several of the ministers doubted that well qualified teachers would be attracted to the community college system with its mass orientation and its limited resources. According to James, Rockingham Community College, with a full-time enrollment of 1,000 has a faculty of five Ph.D. degree holders, 40 with master's degrees, 12 with bachelor's degrees, and a number of craft and skill instructors. The school expects a high degree of turnover in its faculty and counts on attracting for a short period of time young men just beginning their careers.

Support for Manpower Programs. How can the private sector support the manpower training programs? According to Autry, much more work needs to be done in tackling unrealistic attitudes among employers. One of the most difficult places to improve attitudes toward the poor, the uneducated and the Negro is in middle management. The poor, unskilled and unemployed also need a great deal of supportive guidance in their efforts to enter productive society, he said.

Guthrie added that the most significant problem is that of involving poor whites in the programs. In North Carolina, poor whites outnumber poor Negroes, but they will have little to do with government programs. Ministers, he suggested, can be most effective by getting themselves involved, studying the problems, then involving their congregations. "Awaken community interest and awareness to what unemployment actually means in the community."

SEMINAR V

ORGANIZING THE CHURCH FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

For the fifth and final seminar meeting, the social scientists retired to the background. The seminar agenda was planned by a committee of participating ministers.

Chairman Don Shriver, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Religion at N. C. State University, explained, "We are going to try and reverse the proceedings and drag the economists onto our turf--theology, ethics and philosophy." He reiterated that the series of seminars "has been a collaborative enterprise, largely initiated by the Department of Economics at N. C. State University and the Agricultural Policy Institute." A slightly different format was adopted, with each presentation followed by a brief response from one assigned participant, then by a general discussion period.

The Functions of the Church in a Changing Society

Henry B. Clark, Associate Professor of Religion at Duke University, opened the session with a discussion of the functions of the church in a changing society, or the social relevance of the church in contemporary society. He stressed the importance of rigorous honesty in making such an analysis. "We always feel a pressure to be optimistic and enthusiastic," he said. "And we too quickly dismiss the pessimistic implications and realities of the difficulties, the complications and the moral commitment called for."

Reasons for Pessimism. "Despite all signs of hope of renewal in the church, despite the growing awareness there is no THE church, we have to admit the overwhelming function of the church is that of reinforcement and support for increasingly obsolete and evil social, economic, and political institutions of society and for a group of sick ideologies that give a spurious legitimacy to these institutions," he said.

As an example, he cited studies on reasons for church attendance that show the majority attend because they value the comfort function of the church. The majority of the respondents to the surveys said they enjoy worship and personal devotions for reasons largely associated with comfort, for "certification of the okay world." The surveys further indicated that few of the respondents attend a church because of the challenge of personal authentification of their social relevance, Clark said. In addition, the studies showed that the church is regarded by many as a family surrogate, replacing family life when it is disrupted. These church members, who stress the comfort and private personal aspects of the church and worship, manifest a "pseudo-transformationism"--the idea that if enough persons are converted, society automatically will be transformed and redeemed. This idea, according to Clark, only serves to reinforce the social irrelevancy of the church.

Other studies, he said, show a positive correlation between religious affiliation and prejudice and between religious affiliation and political noninvolvement. This condition is aggravated in the South, he said, by a "revival mentality" that understands religion in terms of a datable conversion experience.

Reactions to the Pessimistic View. Generally there are two reactions to this proof of the importance placed by members on the comfort function of the church, Clark said.

(1) Many stress that the role of the church as a comforter is not utterly to be despised. Many are helped, sustained and guided by the comforting church, thus enabling them to play a fuller and more effective role in life.

(2) Others protest that this is not the whole story, and that there are signs of hope that the church will become and is becoming a force for change in society.

"It seems that everybody in a church vocation these days has got to face within himself the question of ethics of belief," Clark said. Having acknowledged that religion does function to support the status quo, the churchman must ask himself then, "In what sense do I believe?" He further has to ask what elements in the gospel lend themselves all too conveniently to this ideological use.

Signs of Hope. Varieties of new life can be found in the church today--not simply new forms, but also renewal in the parish church. In addition, many of the innovations involved in the new forms can be adapted to the parish church. Types of parish church renewal range from mission-structured congregations to a non-stipendiary Episcopal ministry in Idaho to utopian experiments.

(1) Mission-structured Congregations. Christ Presbyterian Church in Burlington, Vt., by a vote of the congregation, restructured itself for mission. Task forces were formed to pursue already established as well as new missions in the world in areas of social stress and tension. The church itself was restructured in terms of its mission establishments. Congregation-wide Sunday exercises were abandoned and each mission group was left to carry out its own study, worship and education programs according to its own needs. These functions are centered in mission buildings, such as community centers, or in members' homes. On the first Sunday of each month, the entire congregation gathers for an open-end and unstructured meeting for discussion, planning of strategy and liturgical celebration.

(2) Morton's Model. In Morton's model for parish renewal, a long-range, somewhat utopian scheme, there would be in every metropolitan area a complete ecumenical union of churches. Resources and buildings would be pooled and redivided, establishing one or two great cathedral-like liturgical centers conducting worship throughout the week and conducting all kinds of liturgical and sacramental services. An administrative center would also be set up to handle all clerical work and to provide a six day a week Christian education program. Finally, and most importantly, there would be any number of mission centers--coffee houses, social action centers, day care centers, half-way houses, etc. Less complete forms of this integration are being tried by unions of four or five churches in a number of metropolitan areas.

(3) New Forms. New forms of the church can be divided into the pastoral and the prophetic. In the area of pastoral forms, there are the apartment house, coffee house, industrial and leisure location ministries. Specific examples cited by Clark included San Francisco's "night people" ministry and Las Vegas' "ministry to the Strip." Also under discussion or already in existence are

specialized ministries to specialized groups such as people in the arts, those connected with the theater, the aged, homosexuals, drug addicts. Ministers would become part of the daily lives of these special groups and would minister to the felt needs of the people as they came in contact with them.

The prophetic forms seek to influence society by mobilizing the energies of particular groups of people with power or potential power. Clark listed eight elements in the prophetic forms;

(a) Large umbrella organizations, either metropolitan or national, that gather funds on a regular basis and channel these funds to experimental, high-risk projects.

(b) Ad hoc coalitions formed among denominations to perform particular tasks and to circumvent denominational balks in the National Council of Churches programs.

(c) Catalytic gadfly communities such as the Urban Training Center in Chicago.

(d) New church publications such as Renewal Magazine.

(e) The Ecumenical Institute of Chicago and its branch organizations.

(f) Ministries of dialogue.

(g) Industrial missions.

(h) The cadre mentality. The demand for total commitment that the small catalytic gadfly communities make may be crucial to the success of the new forms.

Response

The Rev. Collins Kilburn of the United Church of Christ, Raleigh, responded to Clark's presentation. He stated that he was impressed from the information given and from his own study that there are quite a few spots of ferment and struggle for renewal in the church today. The problem, he said, is not that they don't exist, but that most churchmen are not aware they do exist. These new forms, he continued, do not penetrate the average layman's vision of the church.

Faced with Clark's description of the church in his opening remarks, Kilburn said, he was "really forced to the wall to see why I am involved in the parish church." He answered, however, that Clark's statements were not necessarily criticisms of the gospel itself but evidence of the fact that "we will take anything and turn it to our own use. Whether it be the Boy Scouts, colleges or democracy, we use what is available to justify and support our privileged positions." The seeds of resistance to this sin, he said, are intrinsically present in the gospel itself. He also argued that there is more chance to influence and change a man for the better if he is in touch with the institutional church than if he is not.

Terming the comfort function "a very ambiguous thing," he contended that even the social radical probably looks to the church for comfort. He simply seeks a radical church that will support him and give him some comfort through its sympahties with his view. Challenge is not the total answer, Kilburn said. The church must also provide enough comfort to give strength to tackle the challenge.

As to the models for parish church renewal, Kilburn said his main question was "how do you get to there from here." He also said he saw one major weakness in the idea of lay leadership in worship and education, as in the Burlington, Vt., approach. In terms of leading worship and staying in rapport with theological tradition, Kilburn said, the layman is notably weak.

Open Discussion

To point the discussion period, Don Shriver asked, "What ought the function of the church be in terms of economic development? Toward what kind of spirit should we be moving?"

The Morality of Distribution. According to Clark, the return that members of the middle class get out of the operation of the economic system is out of all proportion to the return of the working class. "The Christian understanding of property rights tells us this is an outrage," Clark said. "Maybe we ought to say every day, 'I am living in sin.' What do you do about that?"

The best answer, he suggested, is a mixed system of socialism and free enterprise. Northern Europe and the USSR are also moving in this direction, he said. The United States, in fact, is far behind most civilized nations in terms of social legislation, according to Clark.

He added that he is very cynical about the ability of educational or moral exhortation to make people moral in these respects, but predicted that technology will create such an abundance that the "scarcity mentality" will change. "Love will be a phenomenon of abundance," he said. "Propertied people will begin to reevaluate the worth of making machines of themselves in order to oppress others so that they can gain a major slice of the pie."

Clark was challenged on the point that the existing abundance provided by the economic system is based on the exploitation of some groups of men. He defended this position, while adding that Western notions of private property and free enterprise do have a great deal of pragmatic validity. They encourage frugality and hard work. But, he said, the free market system does not have an automatic mechanism that insures that everybody gets an equitable share of increasing productivity or of prosperity. "Large numbers have been denied their fair share," he said "and this is morally outrageous. We have prosperity and it has been bought with the blood and sweat of others, who didn't get their fair share for their efforts."

Case for Value of Ability. One minister stated that he wanted to hear a case made for the value of ability. How are we going to retain fair share value for efforts put in, for abilities contributed? Clark responded, "If the pie is big enough, the slices don't have to be equal." There will always be a need, he said, for certain people to develop extraordinary competence. And there will always be enough people who have the drive--either for power, for money, or out of sense of social responsibility--to keep the system operating. The effect of true abundance, he said, will be to give us the option of not working so hard all the time. It will also put us in the position of not needing to demand that every man contribute to production.

Reallocation of Church Resources for Ministry in an Urban Society

Richard Perkins, Director of the Task Force for Research, Urban Strategy and Training (TRUST) in Richmond, Va., and the Rev. Irving Stubbs, Codirector of TRUST and a former pastor of Howard Memorial Presbyterian

Church in Tarboro, N. C., made a joint presentation on the allocation of church resources for the most effective ministry in an urban situation. Their presentation involved first a discussion of the work of TRUST, followed by an analysis of Stubbs' pastorate in Tarboro.

Perkins discussed the work of TRUST. A condensation of his presentation follows:

For the purpose of this presentation, let us assume that the purpose of the church is:

(1) to remove any obstacles in our society which prevent people from growing "fully human" or

(2) to build the kind of society in which all persons may become fully what God created them to become.

In our contemporary society, the church has been concentrating its resources on a relatively narrow range of obstacles, to wholeness and leaving the others to a variety of groups from the public or private sector. We have concentrated our resources on a variety of internal programming concerns. A majority of church life centers around programs for the "in-group"--nurture, study, worship, more nurture, study, worship and so on. So in an era when we have an uneasy feeling about the future of the church, we begin to work even harder at better nurture, more study, better discussion groups, more sophisticated worship - or a few guitars in the service. But all of this represents the church beginning with itself in its effort to serve the world.

That has not worked. What can be another way?

The World Is the Starting Point. It's no new thought for me to suggest that the way the church can discover how its resources could be better allocated to fulfill some valuable function in modern society would be to let the world write the agenda for the church; for the world to submit to the church the requests it has for the resources of the church. Our basic premise is that the church is the servant to the world--not the servant of its constituents, not the servant of God, but the servant of the world.

If that premise is accepted, then the next step in the reallocation of our resources can be determined by a careful study of the needs of the community, i.e., what are the obstacles in modern society that prevent persons from growing up fully to be what God created them to be. From a study of these obstacles, the major issues should be isolated and the resources of the church be brought to bear at the point where change is most apt to occur. In our world today, there are several levels at which the study should take place:

(1) In local communities, ecumenical research and planning units to identify the local issues for the churches.
(2) On state or regional levels.
(3) On the national level.
(4) On world level.

Richmond Problems. In Richmond, one pattern which we've found helpful is to have a strategy consultant group funded by a broad ecumenical base committed to do research, plan urban strategy, and train the religious communities. In that process we have discovered that one of the main obstacles to a full opportunity for life is the existence of an outdated political structure and philosophy in our metropolitan area. In a metropolitan area of 600,000 persons, there are three political units--two county governments and a city government. At a time in the recent urbanization of the region, the city refused to offer services to the suburban communities developing beyond the edge of the city. Now the counties have the leverage, with the majority of the upper middle class white population, and are refusing to help the core city. It is being choked to death by:

(1) a declining tax base.
(2) a staggering welfare and educational cost.
(3) a lack of land for industrial or residential planning.

There is a quasi-metropolitan planning commission which can recommend cooperation but is completely "toothless" when it needs to come to grips with what's happening. Whenever you push beneath the confederate gauze that enshrouds Richmond and begin to encounter the human problems you encounter these obstacles:

(1) in housing--no land in the city, no workable plans in the county,
(2) in education--declining tax base which prevents specialized education for the deprived,
(3) in welfare--mounting costs and a declining tax base,

(4) in transportation--a toll way has been cut directly through the black slums to save money because the counties were not contributing to the construction costs,

(5) in the cost of services--a triplication of administrative costs.

Obstacles to Change. What should the church(es) do about this waste of human potential--to say nothing about the waste of money, man-hours and resources. A careful analysis of the problem reveals the following forces to maintain the status quo:

(1) part of the problem lies in an outdated state constitution and a resultive legislature dominated by the "rural mind set,"

(2) a history of competitive non-cooperation between city and county,

(3) an existence of white racism,

(4) a self-interest in the counties for lower taxation,

(5) a general community apathy about issues which are not immediately responsible to personal pressure; a reluctance to organize politically to bring about political change,

(6) a black community which sees its power in local government being mitigated by a metropolitan government which takes in the powerful suburban racist white middle class.

Forces for Change. At the same time, a study would reveal that there are mounting pressures, increasing in intensity, which are moving in the direction of some change:

(1) a restlessness about the flagrant lack of cooperation in the area,

(2) an aroused Christian community,

(3) a growing awareness that the area is economically one,

(4) a desire on the part of some whites to see the city kept out of the hands of the blacks.

For a group of church people - set aside to study this issue - some plans could be developed that would bring about a reduction of those pressures that resist change, attaching the powers of resistance at the weakest point and continuing the effect until the pressures of resistance were reduced.

Reallocating Resources. In such a process there would inevitably be a reallocation of the resources of the church from internal programming. Your keenest most politically capable people would have to be cut loose from Sunday School classes. Your keenest people would need to feel something genuinely human was being done.

There would have to be some preaching about the issue on the part of all churches.

Let's now look at the process of "the world setting the agenda" vis-a-vis the reallocation of church resources in a modern urban society for social change. One of the most newsworthy and pressing issues is the crisis which grows out of the "have-nots" rise to a form of power within the ghettos--white or black. The white middle class, Protestant anglo-saxon style for responding to the needs of the poor has been to fund and staff a mission, a settlement house, or to provide forms of service in which "we" would offer to "them," in our terms what we thought they needed. Often this kind of benevolent style of service to the deprived has increased their dependence on us to continue the process of solving their problems.

Meantime, in the short spand of time we (TRUST) have been at work, we've become convinced that the most Christian, most humane, most productive and by far the most painful and demanding way to deal with the ghetto mind-set, the poor, is to assist them to organize themselves, to articulate their needs, choose their own goals, plan for their solution. And for the churches to add only that which is genuinely asked of them by the poor, help beyond that which the poor can provide for themselves.

What this has actually meant for us in a city like Richmond is this: The Richmond OEO project, R-CAP, has isolated 5 target areas. In each target area, the major style of operation has been to organize people in groups around their needs and to organize in each target area a neighborhood advisory council to determine what OEO does in their neighborhood. We have taken the position that our most useful function for these communities is to provide a bridge between them and clusters of economically mixed churches we may want to assist them

Operating Principle. Out of our experience so far we have developed a set of operating principles. These are interim procedures, things change rapidly and we are prepared in light of growing experiences to shift to more Christian, more pragmatic principles as they emerge. These principles have been beneath the surface of what I've been saying:

(1) The deployment of church resources must be done in response to the major issues which affect the life of the people for whom you are concerned.

(2) Change--dealing with and solving the problems of these issues--does not have to be haphazard.

(3) Change can take place, and the church can be an agent of change if it will subject itself to the discipline of (a) research and study, (b) strategy planning, development and testing, (c) action, and (d) evaluation.

We have developed several training action models.

(4) The people involved in the problem and the issue must themselves be involved in planning and implementing the change.

(5) Where issues develop an awareness of problems, the church should carefully examine the advantages of working through existing structures--religious, humanitarian, governmental, private, secular, wherever possible.

(6) The solving of problems and dealing with issues in our communities must be done locally. We may use guidelines from other groups and areas, but the issues, the problems, the solutions must emerge from within that community.

(7) In most communities, a mobile staff of catalytic planners and qualified persons who are free to respond to the issues as they emerge will be needed, at least for the next several years.

(8) Unilateral action by denominational groups is no longer a possibility in the city.

The Eastern North Carolina Syndrome

For the second half of the presentation, the Rev. Irving R. Stubbs spoke on his experience as pastor of a Presbyterian church in Tarboro, N. C., including his attempts to move the church in the direction of social action, and his analysis of his failure to bring about change within the congregation and community.

He described his church as "a prominent church serving the establishment." Tarboro, according to Stubbs, is a sort of mini-city with strong paternalistic influences, revered and powerful old families, and an agrarian base. The town is half white and half Negro, the county seat and the home of several small industries. Like many larger cities, some segments of the population enjoy great wealth, the segregation battle already has been fought, urban renewal has been carried out, and a degree of open housing exists--as a result of poor zoning rather than as a result of deliberate action.

Failure Listed. He began his ministry there, he said, with the idea of restructuring the congregation for mission, for a program of worship, and work. His strategy was to organize the entire congregation around five important committees. "But I found these people were not accustomed to group processes; this community operated with different dynamics." He also attempted to retool the policy-making organizations of the church and failed. As another strategy, he attempted to bring in "hot-shot resource people, shock troops, to drop a few bombs." This strategy, he feels, probably resulted in alienation.

In conclusion, Stubbs said, he now feels that in attempts to move such a congregation to involvement with the problems of the larger community

(1) the frontal assault approach is ineffective,
(2) the program-centered approach is ineffective, and
(3) the church-oriented agenda is ineffective.

Suggestions for Effective Ministry. Based on his experience, and after a great deal of hindsight, Stubbs suggested other approaches that might have had some success.

(1) He emphasized first, the importance of an apostolate of laity, not in running the church, but in operating in the world where they are, supported and assisted by the church. There is great value for the minister, he said, in listening to the laity describe their own involvement in their world. Should he return to parish work, he said, one of his first steps would be to hire professional Christian educators to work on a daily basis in the homes, in special interest groups and in neighborhoods in order that the minister and resource persons in the congregation might concentrate on this worldly ministry of the laity.

(2) A second approach, he said, would be greater cooperation with existing secular agencies. Tarboro churches, he said, would

occasionally contact the welfare director to assist a particular indigent. With more initiative, they could have worked out a much closer continuing relationship with the county welfare agency, developing a training program for churchmen and establishing a mutual assistance program.

(3) The Negro community, he said, was poorly organized and contained a lone resident minister. A small group of concerned ministers and laymen, he felt, could have helped the Negro community to organize itself around the issues concerning it, and to develop its own resources.

(4) Building support for more progressive elements in county government, he said, might also have yielded gains. The Tarboro ministerial association decided to sit in on town council meetings and the action was well accepted by that board. They should have gone farther, he felt, attending sessions of school boards and the county board of commissioners, backing up progressive members and helping to organize public support for them. Such action, he felt, would have made it easier for them to make some desired decisions. Such an involvement would also have aided civic education and a new communication instrument in the community. The role for the church or for concerned groups in the church, he said, should be to act as a catalyst--looking at the community as a whole, spotting the gaps, bringing them to the fore, and involving other people in action to close them.

(5) In working within the congregation itself, he said, he feels the more effective approaches would be to support personally those individuals who appear motivated to reach out and act in the community, reinforcing them by drawing them into small informal groups for corporate support and action. The minister should avoid attempting to bring the church policy makers up to action prematurely, waiting instead for sufficient support to build.

Response

The Rev. Russell Montfort of Winston-Salem responded to the presentation. In the final seminar, he said, he was impressed that the social scientists were willing to discuss some theological issues. The entire seminar series was to have been more of an equal dialogue between ministers and social scientists, he had understood. "Until this session, the social scientists have been impatient with our breakdown into theological debate," he said.

Theological Problems. Discussion of theological problems is not separate and apart from the churches' efforts to become effective agents in social change, he contended. A theological reorientation among congregations will be necessary before churches can combine their efforts and reallocate their resources. The congregations must discover that they hold common beliefs that will enable them to work together, he said. "I think this may be one of the real dilemmas we face. We have a legacy of theological ignorance, too much 'personal commitment to Jesus' as the whole of religion."

Church Has Own Relevance. He also expressed some reservations and concern over the approach of "letting the world write the agenda" for the church. In a problem-centered program, "Are we in danger of losing our framework of belief? Doesn't the church have a relevance all its own as it leads us in worship and to a discovery and understanding of ourselves and what we mean?"

As a final point, he said he felt the great value of the seminar series had been its instruction in the construction and uses of power, the forces operating in society. Until the churches are reoriented and able to combine for power, he said, perhaps all they can do is send out individual members and support them in their work in the world.

Open Discussion

Much of the discussion centered around Montfort's contention that a rethinking of theology must precede unified action by coalitions of churches.

Theological Union Before Action? Perkins began the discussion by countering that there should exist among different church groups enough unanimity about the evils of society to tackle those problems. As the church groups work together to solve problems, they can work out a common theology as a reflective process, he said. "But if we wait for enough theological unanimity before acting, we'll never get around to action."

A participating minister agreed that churchmen can assume there is a common ground on some very practical matters, and work together on those matters while leaving the basic premises of theology rather fuzzy. He suggested that theology perhaps should grow out of unified action in the world. Don Shriver agreed, stating that he felt it fruitless to argue about theology or action, one without the other. "It is the old concept of faith and work," he said. "One without the other is dead. We are perpetually learning to rethink our theology in terms of our times. The city, for instance, is a way of rethinking what the church is."

Perkins summed up his plea for action by stating, "I think there is a superabundance in the church of words and a dearth of loving deeds. I think it is time for the church to get on the stick about deeds and give truth to the words."

Gathering a Consensus. Asked how ministers can organize and move their congregations, when even single congregations do not truly hold a common theological base, he agreed in all congregations there is a great spread of thought on theology, on what it means to be a man and on social action policies. But, he told the other ministers, a cadre does exist that holds "your view of what the church should be doing." He suggested that they identify that cadre, gather them together, and use them to help the rest of the congregation come to a common view of what the church should be doing. "Infiltrate your own congregation," he suggested.

Building of a consensus, one minister said, is to his mind an unfortunate approach. Part of the goodness of a group like an active church, he said, is the tension and interactions that can develop, energizing members to work things out, to think and to act. "If you think you're going to get a consensus first and then act, you're lost," he said. Another minister added that church groups working together should work not toward a consensus but toward an acceptance of differences.

Systems Approach. One participant told Perkins he felt one of the virtues of the seminar series was the knowledge gained of the systems approach. He then asked how a five-church organization, such as Perkins represents, can solve the problems of the ghetto, when those problems are linked into a much larger national system. Can anything significant be done at the local level, when the basic problems are at the national level? Is action in particular areas, such as a ghetto, a significant way to attack the larger system?

Perkins' answer to the last question was no, but, he added, there are specific problems in a ghetto that can be attacked and on which relevent action can be taken. As a group studies and tackles one problem, it will come in contact with larger systems. From this experience, the group can then move to study those larger systems, and form coalitions to attack problems in them. "Maybe our role ought to be to create pressure, to train, to give clarity and to open communications."

Working with Political Leaders. Perkins was asked how the group in Richmond, coming up with a political philosophy they think can be implemented, can tie in with political leaders to implement that philosophy. He answered that in some cases the method is support, while in others it involves mobilizing resistance. Primarily, he said, the approach is to assist groups of people outside of TRUST to get action going. He was also asked how he would go about tackling regional planning, when there is almost no power at the regional level and little if any power structure. And since some of TRUST's work is in response to federal action, particularly OEO resources, has TRUST taken any action to put pressure on Congress and the administration to continue those resources? Perkins responded that TRUST has not taken any action to pressure the federal government on continuation of the OEO program. "But I think we must," he added. Hopefully, he said, the National Council of Churches will mobilize itself and play this role of advocate. If the NCC does not meet the challenge, he said, then a national pressure group must be organized. "The Green amendment was an attempt to keep the OEO money coming," he said. "She will be defamed for the amendment, but it was a compromise move to save the OEO."

How far might we expect churches or church-related groups to go in organizing national political pressure? Can the churches really get out of their own backyards? In TRUST, he said, "We are holding our breath to go as far as we can without losing our support. Certainly there is a danger that in our action toward national policy we will lose our constituency."

The Mission-Oriented Church. Referring to the first presentation on new forms and renewal of the parish church, one minister suggested that in Stubbs' presentation, he heard a fairly conservative notion toward the idea of restructuring local congregations for mission. He further asked Stubbs if he felt ministers should spend little time and effort toward restructuring whole congregations, but rather should work informally with groups and individuals. Stubbs responded that he sees the latter approach as a more likely and workable solution. The minister should let the structure work for him in aiding the congregation to grow to meet issues and needs in the community.

Symbol and Service: The Social Impact of Liturgy

The Rev. Buie Seawell, pastor of the Church of the Reconciliation in Chapel Hill, spoke on the social impact of liturgy. As a new Presbyterian church in one of the centers of progressive thought in the state, the Church of the Reconciliation was given a relatively free hand to develop its own program and to alter or devise new forms of worship.

Liturgy Reflects or Reinforces Times. To illustrate that liturgy has been used in the past for social impact, Seawell read to the ministers a series of hymns, placing them in the historic and economic context of the time that they were written. Most telling was the recital of the hymn "Work Till the Day Is Done," written during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. The hymn continuously exhorts the Christian that it is his duty to work through the day, work through his lifetime, work until he can work no more.

In his own church, he said, he is making use of music in many forms, including the use of various instruments such as the guitar and the trombone, incorporating new hymns based on current social problems, using contemporary folk-rock songs such as Simon and Garfunkel's "Sound of Silence" as the basis of sermons. He also has used music to preserve some of the old parts of the liturgy, he said, such as the Nicean Creed. The creed as a recitation of articles of faith is no longer acceptable to many Christians, he pointed out. But as a hymn it becomes a more generalized and acceptable declaration of faith.

To involve the participants in the feeling of the new music, he played tapes of background music and had them sing several of the new hymns, including the Nicean Creed.

New Worship Service Outlined. Seawell then outlined the worship service of the Church of the Reconciliation, called "The Service of the People." It begins with a rehearsal of the service to follow, including quick runthroughs of any unfamiliar hymns and explanations of any changes to be made in the order of worship that day. The call to worship then is made, and the first hymn begins, a soft introductory piece rather than a great crashing hymn of praise. The service, Seawell said, should build to a climax like a play, and therefore should not begin on a high key.

The prayer of confession which follows the first hymn often is not adequate for the kinds of things Christians need to confess, he said. Citing the Episcopal General Confession and reciting it, he said it covers everything without really confessing anything. He suggested reading headlines from the morning paper before the confession is repeated by the congregation. Reading headlines, he said, "gives us a notion of what our sins really are." Whatever method is used, some preparation should be made before the general confession, he said.

Following the confession are the traditional declaration of pardon, the response from the congregation and the reading of the scriptures for the day. This last stage of the service, he felt, could well be used to involve more laymen in the service.

In the sermon portion of the service, he said, "We have made valiant attempts." The main thing needed in the service, he said, is a method of allowing response to the sermon by the congregation.

The creed, as previously discussed, is sung. "No one can believe all of those things at one time and still be human," Seawell said. "We also have gone from the use of I to we to stress the responsibility of the church members together to carry the burden of the faith."

Next are the prayers of intercession and the offering, the highest point of the service, Seawell said. The intercessions, he feels, are where the breakdown of the sacred and the secular really begins, with the church acting to take on the needs and cares of the world. Members of the congregation are encouraged to offer the prayers of intercession, according to the needs they feel.

Following the offering, the thanksgiving and hymn, is an hour of response, in which members are free to react to whatever has happened in the service, particularly the sermon.

The service concludes with a benediction and a charge for social responsibility.

Seawell admitted, "Some of this is just tricky, it's experimenting, but I have come to really believe in the hour of response. It is an opportunity to stand up and be a man, to be responsive and responsible before God, to demonstrate we can be blunt and direct and still live in the community."

Open Discussion

Profile of the Church. Asked to describe the congregation of the Church of the Reconciliation, Seawell characterized it as one-quarter university connected, with a large number of professional people from the community and the Research Triangle making up the remainder. The congregation has a high educational level, and a number of members can take over the service, including liturgy, preaching and conducting the hour of response. When the minister is absent, including vacations, lay members take over the service.

Negative and Joyful Liturgies. Seawell also discussed use of negative liturgies, and the advantages of examining openly hatred of God. He cited a new hymn in which one of those crucified beside Jesus says, "It's God they ought to crucify instead of you and me." Use of the hymn in the service has caused a furor in his church, Seawell said. "But if you understand the hymn, it is faithful." He further defended use of the hymn, saying a good liturgy is one that causes creative tension in the congregation. Returning to earlier discussions of mission-oriented churches, he said he feels there is a real danger of losing the joy of community in a mission-structured church. "The Christian is free from and for the world," he said, "and we need to work back into the liturgy celebration and joy over that fact."

Hour of Response. Seawell was asked if he became defensive when attacked or debated in the hour of response. He admitted that he often does, and can feel hostile if the attack is strong. One minister asked how a traditional, established church could be moved to try new liturgies and new forms in service. Don Welch, Assistant Dean of the Divinity School at Duke University, suggested that adding the hour of response might be the key to changing other parts of the liturgy. The minister then could use the response time to deal with any tensions to other changes in form. The response, Seawell said, also gives the officers of the church an opportunity to know what the congregation is really like and what the members are thinking.

It was also suggested that home liturgies might be an effective way to begin change. It is sometimes difficult to accept change, said a priest, in old settings, such as a traditional church. In a new setting, such as the home, members might begin to see that some of the forms of worship are no longer relevant, then might be able to accept changes in those forms in the old setting.

Pastoral Role. Asked about his pastoral role, Seawell said that the church is so organized that it tends to pastor itself. Members of the church carry out the pastoral role among themselves, and Seawell has set up no pastoral office for himself.

Social Action. He also was questioned about the social action programs of the church. According to Seawell, about 60 percent of the congregation already is involved in community work as teachers, doctors, social workers or psychologists. The one concrete project of the church has been the establishment of a Neighborhood House, with emphasis on sports and tutoring activities. This project is being taken over by the local OEO agency, but will continue to receive support from the church. The church, he said, is against small mission projects. "We have been more involved in community-wide study, in support, and in building an ethos for change. We have been asked to organize recreation in a Negro area, but that's the responsibility of the city. Our role should be to put pressure on the city to uphold that responsibility."

Strategies for Church Response to Social Problems

The second day of the seminar was devoted to reports from each minister on actions they or their congregations are contemplating in regard to social problems, and strategies involved in putting their plans into operation. At the conclusion of the presentations, a panel of social scientists, including James Maddox, Jerry West, Richard King and John Strange, evaluated them as a group, and an open discussion followed. Plans presented were as follows:

(1) A rural church in the Piedmont. The Negro community in the county had no recreation outlets for its young people. The church wants to see

about providing a recreation center for them, but the minister has gone on the assumption that the action must come from the top down. He has "planted the seed with a community leader, and he will act on the county government."

(2) A business-like town in Eastern North Carolina, also the county seat. The Ministerial association is attempting to explore possibilities of constructing low-rent housing under the Housing and Urban Development agency. "We are most excited about getting together a group from the progressive element of our congregations to discuss, plan and see what grows out of concerted effort."

(3) The Militant Protestant Parish, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Background: Five congregations in Chapel Hill are in the process of discussions designed to coordinate the working life of their respective organizations at the following levels: education (a weekday church school); mission (an ecumenical institute for laymen each fall, support of "Neighborhood Houses" in ghettos throughout the year); worship (the celebration of the major Christian holidays through joint worship services). The denominations represented are Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, and a non-denominational "community church."

To date only the clergy of the five churches have been in direct conversation. A pilot project for the summer has been designed to give us working experience together. A lay committee of each church will develop and staff a summer day camp for children in the first and second grades. Beginning in the fall the churches will hold joint "official board" meetings quarterly. A common meeting time has been established for the monthly meetings of each Church's governing body, and in September, January, and April, these meetings will be combined into a general convocation for a meal and discussion of common tasks and problems. The churches have already issued a joint calendar of events for this spring, and by fall should have coordinated all important dates in their calendars so as to take advantage of the variety of programs each sponsors. A Parish advisory committee may be developed during the next fall composed of one or more laymen and the ministers of the various churches.

Education. The churches hope to begin this fall with a common curriculum for fifth and sixth graders, who will be taught by qualified teachers following the regular school day. The various facilities of the churches will be used, but the children will not be divided as to denomination. It is hoped that over the next two years all church education for school children will be done in a common ecumenical school. These plans have already eliminated some pressure for the building of additional educational space in two of the congregations.

Ecumenical Institute and Mission. The first general gathering of the parish will be this fall when a week-long "Ecumenical Institute" is held, at which both speakers of national reputation, and persons knowing the local situation will talk to the congregations about the renewal, and development of the church's mission in our particular place. Already one church has developed a "Neighborhood House" in one of the key tension areas of the city where social, recreational, and educational activities go on; this idea is now being expanded by another of the churches which is purchasing and equipping three such houses in other areas. Conversations with the Chapel Hill Multipurpose Center (an OEO project) suggest that these four houses may be turned over to this agency (though still financed primarily through the churches) and that out of them the four neighborhood workers will have a better base for neighborhood organization. A council for the Neighborhood Houses would be made up of church persons and neighborhood persons, so as to coordinate the work of the four houses. This would allow the churches to support, while not "running" a serious attempt at "neighborhood organization." Through the Institute and particular congregations volunteer work and social encounters could be developed where appropriate.

Worship. The churches conceive that it is now inappropriate to celebrate the great Christian events, Pentecost, Christmas, Easter, in isolation. Given some liturgical limitations, it is still felt feasible to have joint worship on these days at least.

(4) A declining rural community. "My only plan is education within the church group to the problems of poverty. Hopefully we can prepare those who are leaving the area for the adjustments they will have to make to the realities of the city."

(5) A major Piedmont city. Four couples in the congregation made a study of the church program and its response to community needs. As a result, the church has taken on a 14-member family in a slum area as a full-

time project. The aim of the project is to involve church members with the family and their problems in their own neighborhood. In addition, the church is studying a particular street that needs improvements, and will devise plans for seeking those improvements from the city. This project should serve as a means of studying the city power structure.

(6) A declining rural farm area. Consolidation of schools in three areas is a major need. Members of the church are circulating petitions for consolidation and are working with the Governor's Special Commission on Education, in an effort to combine grass roots desire with official state desire, bringing pressure on local boards from above and below. The petitions will be turned in to the town and county boards of education.

(7) A major Piedmont city. The minister approached the mayor and together they are forming an informal group of influential men to work onthe problems of communications in the community, particularly attempting to make contact with the militants in the ghetto.

(8) A major Piedmont city. The priority problem is the division of the races. The minister said churches in his city should seek first to handle the problems of division and lack of communication by arousing influential churches, influential churchmen and club women. His plan was to establish a downtown non-denominational Christian fellowship hall for interracial meetings. The hall should have books available, should show films, hold luncheons, organize caravans and field trips. Interracial teams could be formed and compete for prizes. These efforts, he felt, could go a long way toward opening lines of communication and building understanding. He has, in his church, appointed a community projects director to work with youth. The director already is working on a project to open lines of communication between the Negro ghettos and white suburbia. Teams from the ghettos are being formed to appear before white groups and describe slum conditions and their needs. The church represented is a large downtown Negro church.

(9) A large town in the Piedmont. An organization has been established in the congregation to work with OEO programs. Members of the group are to serve as auxiliary ministry to the OEO as a support group, and the organization as a whole will take on emergency projects at the request of the OEO agency. Through the OEO staff, the church has attempted to

spread the word among ghetto and slum dwellers to send their children to a church-staffed activities center. The minister said he hopes the church will be able to establish a model program for OEO support that will spread to other churches.

(10) A major Piedmont city. Members of the church are in the stage of defining needs. Some interest has been shown in setting up a tutoring program, but the members involved still are in a discussion and education stage, the minister said.

(11) A furniture manufacturing center in the Western part of the state. The town suffers from lack of housing to meet the needs of rapidly growing industrialization. Ministers of fourteen downtown churches have met and committed themselves to select two members from each congregation and establish a forum to discuss the community's problems.

An effort is being made by the community to coordinate its social agencies, and the church is asking that these agencies provide yearly orientation programs for ministers and lay leaders.

The housing problem is more long-range, and approaches to this problem still are being studied.

The church is also working in the Negro area to try to help the residents organize themselves for effective action, specifically to persuade city officials to turn over an empty school building to the OEO for basic training courses.

(12) A small town serving an agricultural area and near one of the state's major cities.

A. Description of Need. Clayton is a town of 3,500-4,000 persons (6,500 in the Township) located on U. S. 70 midway between Raleigh and Smithfield. It is fast becoming a bedroom community for Raleigh. The town offers many conveniences for elderly people, and there are many here. But there is no nursing home in the area. Persons needing such a facility are forced to leave their home community to find help.

Such a facility could be a good business venture for anyone wishing to go into the business or someome wishing to make a sound investment. The venture would render a real service to the community.

B. Strategy. Let the concern be known: through public announcement, through sermons, and through news coverage.

Bring up matter before Community Improvement Council

Compile information

  State requirements

  Take census of potential patients

  Investigate federal and state assistance

Make personal contact of potential investors and persons who might be interested in working in this field.

C. Responsibility for Carrying Out Strategy.

1. I have referred to this need in a recent sermon. I received considerable comment and expressed interest.

2. I have presented the need to the Community Improvement Council. A committee is now working on compiling information.

3. The need is being discussed in the Church, and when the facts are gathered, an attempt will be made to find persons interested in developing such a project.

4. Assistance is available in the form of Mortgage Insurance through the Federal Housing Administration on a facility of 20 beds or more meeting state requirements.

(13) An old town serving as county seat in an agricultural area near a large city. The county has the highest incidence of psychosis per hundred population of any county served by the area state mental hospital. The minister and some of his congregation organized efforts to establish a mental health center in the community. The county board has acted favorably, and the establishment of the center seems assured. As a follow-up step, their next project will be to establish a pool of reference people to counsel, assist and support "borderline cases." He and several other ministers are "attempting to think out an alliance of Negro and white ministers."

(14) An eastern city adjoined by a large military base. The minister said he and members of his congregation had looked at the housing situation but had backed away from it, feeling the task would be overwhelming. As a short-term project, the church has donated $12,000 to the city to buy land for a park complex. As a continuing project, they are using church facilities and land to establish and develop an integrated neighborhood recreation program. Church facilities and personnel will also be used to operate a day care center for working mothers in the neighborhood, and the church is

looking toward establishing a family counselling service with a full-time professional counselor in charge. They have set up and staffed for the OEO an office for interviewing job training applicants. All of these efforts, he said, are designed to orient the church as a neighborhood center. This church is located in the downtown area, but serves a well-to-do congregation that lives primarily in the suburbs.

(15) The state capitol. Five churches, including that of the minister, have organized a Housing and Urban Development project called Raleigh Inter-Church Housing (RICH). The project will involve the construction of a 100-unit housing development, and construction is to begin in the immediate future. The churches also are looking into areas in which they can give assistance to the people who will form this community. They have already identified several areas of need--day care for children, finding jobs, family budgeting and finance, and community organization. The ministers of the sponsoring churches hope to gather their congregations and then involve them in concerned groups around each of these areas. They plan to recruit groups to study these problems and be ready to assist them when the community is established. This part of the project has become something of a dilemma, he said, in that the members of RICH feel they need to let the community work out their own needs, but at the same time feel they must be ready to assist in these areas when the need is expressed. Work with the RICH project, he said, has sensitized the congregation to overall housing needs and to national legislation in this area. The congregation sent a petition to their congressman urging support of the open housing amendment.

Response

Members of the panel took turns responding to the proposals. Maddox began by saying he was highly pleased with the interaction of the session, then added he wished to preach a short sermon on an earlier statement that today's affluence is built on the exploitation of others.

Our economic system, he said, results in many injustices for some--low pay, higher prices, higher interest rates. Certainly this should be an area of concern for Christians. But he asked the ministers to give consideration to the following aspects of the problem:

(1) We have a very dynamic, fast-growing society and economy, primarily through a rising level of technology.

(2) As a result of increasing technology, many people are being thrown out of productive work. They must either make extreme adjustments, or they may have to go on the welfare rolls.

(3) This characteristic of rapid growth and change will continue unless we take deliberate action to slow it down.

(4) This kind of adjustment, which penalizes some, must take place in any system. And a lot of government action does not assure justice. "The welfare system has become a monstrosity, and public education is missing the mark," he said.

Are there any general guides to help ameliorate these injustices?

(1) It is a necessity to maintain the highest possible level of employment, thus, providing opportunity for the man who has to change his type of employment. Actions that will create this environment must be taken primarily at the national level.

(2) Education and training programs are essential for those forced to go from outdated jobs to jobs that require more sophisticated skills. More money must be invested in developing human resources. This is a public enterprise with many of the decisions being made locally, though increasing numbers of them are being made nationally.

(3) Mobility to jobs and opportunities must be increased. People must be helped not only to shift to new localities, but also to adjust to those localities, particularly the southern Negro moving to the northern cities. Much can be done in this area at the local level, and much needs to be done through the employment security agencies.

John Strange presented a critical review of the presentation. He told the ministers he did not find among their plans any startling or extremely risky undertakings that would jeopardize their careers or their relations with their home communities. Strange said he also was intrigued by the "simplistic view" of local political systems. "You spoke of the power structure; in the larger communities it is doubtful that any monolithic power structure exists," he said. "Rather it is a governing coalition drawn out of several structures and much more complicated than you indicated."

He asked the group, "Is the church relevant at all in any aspect of community life?" There is, he said, a great deal of evidence that it is not, particularly in terms of the great questions that face us today--the war in Vietnam, the racial crisis, relations between nations. The church, taken as a whole, has been a very conservative force in the nation, he continued. It has abdicated the role of innovator and left it to government, and to the educational community.

Speaking of the substantive content of the fifteen reports, he broke them down as follows: six indications of plans for or interest in study, teaching, ecumenism and dialogue; two indications of plans for low-rent housing; two indications of plans for supportive or auxiliary work with OEO agencies; two indications of plans for recreation programs; and one each in the areas of mental health, school consolidation, and nursing homes. No one, he said, mentioned Vietnam, the broader economic problem of who is employed, wage scales, racial crisis or riots.

Techniques, he said, primarily involved meetings or discussions. No mention was made of overt or covert attempts to develop economic or political power, he said. "If you are really going to play a role, many other techniques must be employed."

(1) Lending the legitimacy of the churches to social action.

(2) Involvement in community organization. Creating in the slum areas the ability to participate and consequently to gain a greater share of the rewards and benefits of society implies our giving up in the future some of our power and our benefits. This is a dangerous but extremely important technique, he said; it is the only way, for instance, to make contact with the black militants.

(3) Economic boycotts--probably impossible to organize in southern white churches.

(4) Providing a "cover" under which activists can operate.

(5) Contribution of money to community organization efforts, either directly or indirectly through the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Development. Such community organization can be successful coming from the bottom up, but it is a long process and it

needs money and support. Organization can also occur as a result of pressure from the outside, forcing a community to mobilize on a particular issue.

(6) Study techniques can be improved by maximizing materials now available through the national denomination organizations, and by bringing in people "you would not ordinarily communicate with, those who will talk straight, in order to gain some sense of what is really going on in North Carolina."

Speaking further on this last point, Strange said, "Things are happening at a frightening pace, and there is a terrifying disillusionment with the system on the part of some. I am convinced we are headed for an overtly repressive situation." He urged the ministers to spread and increase their activities to prevent this from happening. The opposition can be bought off at a much lower cost than the system currently believes, he said. Demands are relatively minor on the local level, and would require little sacrifice on the part of the rest of the community. Meeting those demands, he said, would give the poor a sense of having a stake in the system, a feeling that they can get response from the system.

To deal with the system, he said, churchmen must be politically attuned. He suggested that the ministers, in their social actions:

(1) Decide you are going to play to win.

(2) Be aware that you will be opposed, and that the opposition certainly will be playing to win. For this reason, he said, you must be cautious in how you develop your plans and who you involve in developing or putting into action those plans.

(3) Recognize and neutralize the power of the opposition through careful organization and appointment of committees.

(4) Master the bluff. Your power may be credited as being much greater than it actually is, he said.

(5) Develop a lot of staying power and have a number of alternative plans ready. Ask for more than you expect to get and be ready to compromise.

Jerry West, in his discussion of the presentations, indicated he did not expect, and did not particularly feel appropriate, to suggest plans for extreme action on the part of local churches or ecumenical groups on the local level. In designing the series of seminars, he said, the main concern was with raising the level of understanding of the extent to which changes could be made with a high pay-off and a low investment level. In many cases, he said, all that is needed is an understanding of the good investments that are available. "You can't ignore your theological differences," he said, "because they will affect the way you will act." The ministers, he added, are well acquainted with their own differences and with the realities of their own congregations.

Study is important, he said, and the changes that come out of that study may not be radical. He urged that the ministers not forget the problems of the rural poor in their concern for the cities, and that they make greater efforts to find out about the problems and needs of the poor whites. In many cases, he said, support of local agencies is a valid worthwhile effort. Also, he noted, the area of consumer credit had not been mentioned in any of the plans. A great deal of effective work can be done, he said, in the area of educating the poor to the realities of consumer credit.

Economists, Richard King said, are concerned with the allocation of scarce resources among competing ends. Many churches have scarce resources and are concerned with the same problem. The distinction between clergymen and laymen is overemphasized, as was the distinction made in the seminars between the clergy and the social scientists. De-emphasizing those distinctions, he felt, could help the church to make better use of its resources.

The question of the relevancy of the church as an effective force for change in economic and political realities is not an irrelevant one, he said. Making the church an effective force in part calls for a breaking down of the notion that worship is the end of the church. The reports make clear, he said, that the church can act now. But these plans and the projects discussed should be regarded only as a first step in a strategy for change. One of the things the church must fight, he said, is a tendency to verbalize and then stop. Study and discussion should be a short prelude to action. One of the major difficulties in getting churches and church members to act has been the failure of the denominational organizations to provide packets of materials to aid church groups to get moving. Most of the materials available are study materials rather than action materials.

Open Discussion

A good deal of hostility to Strange's criticisms was expressed in the final discussion period.

Minister as Agitator. He was first asked if he felt ministers should emphasize to their congregations that the situations in and attitudes involved in the Negro ghetto could crystallize and harden overnight, forcing either-or decisions. Would this overstate the case and would it serve only to frighten the congregations away from action? Strange said he felt this was no overstatement, pointing out that major cities are buying military equipment and are training semi-military forces to deal with riot situations. If church members could see in a realistic light the demands made by the ghetto residents--that the cities practice open employment, that they stop intimidating the Negro poor, that they stop moving the Negro poor out of the way of construction projects without relocating them--then they could undercut the opposition to meeting these demands by forcing the opponents out into the open. Church members, he said, could be an effective group to display support for reasonable handling of riots and demonstrations, for upgrading police personnel and pay, and for regarding Negroes as something other than a supply of low-wage domestic servants.

He was also asked if he felt the minister should openly ally with the activists or work under cover. "If you don't have parishioners who will take the leadership role then you're in trouble," he replied. The minister should be concerned with freeing these people to act, providing them cover and dealing with both sides in the congregation. The minister should provide protection and encouragement to them, and should be willing to go to bat for them if necessary, but he should also work to make them see they will have to compromise, that they won't get everything they want.

Criticism Called Unfair. In a heated response to Strange's criticism, one minister stated he felt the professor had not been fair in his analysis and suggested that in any future seminar steps be taken to build more interpersonal relations between the ministers and the social scientists, primarily so that the social scientists can form a greater understanding of what the church is and what it is doing. He suggested that the ministers had felt tremendous resistances among the social scientists toward educating themselves to the point of view and realities of the church. Agreeing with him, another minister said, "It is irrelevant to tell us that we are irrelevant. To attack us on the Vietnam War and the racial crisis puts us off, because you are operating on unfair and untrue assumptions." Several ministers in the group, he pointed out, had been leaders in organizing the peace vigils and had remained active in those efforts at some risk to their jobs. Many others, he added, had been outspoken and active in efforts to tackle and solve racial problems. "The trouble," he told Strange, "is that many of you have not stayed with us through the seminars; you don't know us or what we are doing." Strange responded to the heat of those statements that ministers perhaps need to develop and learn to tolerate a great degree of conflict.

Maddox closed the final session by pointing out that the seminars were conceived and designed as an experiment in education. "We are not trying to press you into action, but to give you insights to make you more effective in any action you may feel you should take."

EVALUATION OF THE SEMINARS

This seminar series was an experimental venture. The extent to which it was successful depends in large part upon the reactions of those persons who participated. To gauge these reactions each minister who attended was sent a letter asking him specific questions pertaining to the focus, content, and general organization of the seminars, and giving him an opportunity for a general evaluation of the series. The answers to these questions should help determine changes needed to improve the format of similar seminars in the future. They are summarized in this section.

The general reaction to the seminars was overwhelmingly favorable. All who responded to the questionnaire felt that their decision to attend had been a wise one, and that the experience was both stimulating and rewarding.

One minister, who seemed to summarize the feelings of most of the participants, said: "The new knowledge and insights that I gained will greatly enhance my ability to understand and interpret the basic structures of our society." Another said, "I have received new insight into the economic, social and political forces at work in the South today and, thus, have a better notion as to how to react to these forces, to the end that they may be channeled toward growth." In short, they viewed the communication between social scientists and ministers as a good thing, with the possibility that "... we can benefit from each other and work together toward 'life abundant' for all men." Most felt that the very fact that these seminars had been held was a clear indication that other groups in our society besides the Church were becoming increasingly concerned with human problems.

The majority of ministers felt that five seminars during the year was the preferred number. However, two persons suggested that the number of seminars be increased, thereby shortening the interval between sessions and cutting down on the likelihood of an interest lag. This argument should be considered carefully in planning a similar series in the future. The one minister who suggested decreasing the total number of sessions felt that, in the case of this particular series, there had been too much duplication of material. It would seem, therefore, that the ultimate decision as to the number of sessions to be held might depend upon several factors: (a) the nature and breadth of the subjects to be explored, (b) the duration of individual sessions, and perhaps (c) the types of people involved in a particular series--the flexibility of their schedules might be a consideration. Probably then, no less than four and not more than six sessions would be advisable for a similar seminar series held over a 9-11 month period.

As to the length of the individual sessions, again, most ministers approved of the plan used in this series--two-day sessions with the discussions ending at 3:00 p.m. on the second day. Some, however, thought the last two hours of each session tended to drag a bit and recommended ending each seminar at noon on the second day. At the other extreme, one person suggested extending each seminar to two full days and adding two night sessions as well! Ending the sessions at noon of the second day would probably have been better than continuing to midafternoon. The advisability of an evening session must be weighed against the opportunity which a "free" evening provides for small groups to get together for informal discussions. In this particular series of seminars, the physical facilities were unusually conducive to small groups getting together to discuss particular issues of mutual interest. A different physical setting might have suggested the wisdom of more evening sessions for the entire group.

The choice and presentation of topics, the ministers said, were excellent. "The social scientists had much to offer to the religious outlook as it affects institutional involvement," said one participant. Although most admitted to being overwhelmed by the sheer quantity of subject matter covered, only a few recommended actually deleting any topics. One person believed "... perhaps too much time was devoted to the field of economics." On the other hand, another said, "If it had not been for the discussions on economic progress, distribution of income, status and power among different groups, the nature of poverty, etc., I would have had difficulty in understanding what role the church could play in social change." Several persons mentioned that in view of the current domestic situation, a deeper look into "the sickness called racism" might have been helpful, with discussions being supplemented with readings from Negro authors. Another topic mentioned as a possible area of exploration was what effects the "... Vietnam War and the military-industrial complex have had upon our economy and the arrangement of our values."

Reaction to the speakers was very favorable. One minister said, "There were times when I was confused by the jargon of the economists, but most of them who spoke were patient and understanding in their explanations." One feeling that several of the participants, both ministers and social scientists, shared was that there were too many social scientists who presented a topic, remained for an hour or two of discussion, but made no other appearances during the series. A more "stable" faculty--an economist, a sociologist and a political scientist--participating in each seminar from the beginning to the end of the series would have made for better continuity and greater freedom of discussion. Another suggestion was that more sociologists should have been included in the group of participating social scientists.

Plenty of discussion time following the presentation of each topic appears to be an essential ingredient of a successful seminar. The discussions were highly rated by all participants. One person suggested they might have been improved by breaking up "into smaller groups of five or six with one of the 'faculty' to moderate the discussion." And several participants mentioned that some of the discussions seemed to lag a bit because of the lack of a strong chairman to lead the discussions. Other than this, the consensus was that the discussions added much by clarifying certain points, by raising other relevant points, and simply by increasing communication between the participants.

The ministers were fairly evenly divided in their opinions as to whether there was adequate opportunity to study and discuss ethics and theology as related to the church's ministry. In the opinion of one, "The time for theological and ethical consideration was generous. Indeed, these themes were present in most of our discussion. I think that further specific discussion would have caused us to establish positions which we would have tried to defend." Another person thought, "... we thrashed around rather haphazardly." Another said, "I don't think we ever got really into the area of ethics and theology and suggest that most of us present would not be competent to speak on these topics. Perhaps a moral philosopher or theologian should be invited to the next session." Still another respondent wrote, "... it seems to me that the seminars bogged down as respect to what churches can do .... We became engrossed in Church institution, not infrequently ignoring the role of religion as people are expressing 'their religion.' Possibly the theme should have read 'The Church and Tension, etc.,' or some time given to what religion can mean in these crises--to which we did come obliquely."

One of the most rewarding aspects of the seminar series was the assignment given each minister at the first session to make a survey of his community to determine: (1) "Who are the important decision-makers in your community with respect to community problems and topics of wide public interest;" and (2) "How do these decision-makers interact among themselves and make significant impacts within the community." At the third seminar, the ministers reported their findings. These individual community investigation projects were cited by most ministers as a source of great personal satisfaction "... we learned how to become involved." There was general agreement that the projects should have been more thorough; nevertheless, they were a very important learning experience. They were excellent supplements to the readings and discussions, and will probably result in some of the ministers becoming more involved in community problem-solving activities than in the past.

In summary, therefore, the general response to the seminars was favorable. The overall format of the series was adequate. However, a few changes would probably have improved them. Among the most important of these are the following:

1. Each session might well have terminated at noon of the second day.
2. The assigned reading material was too lengthy, and the seminar topics and discussions were not sufficiently related to the readings.

3. There was need for, at least, three social scientists--preferably an economist, a sociologist, and a political scientist--to have acted as a permanent faculty and to have been in continuous attendance at all seminar sessions.
4. Probably more time and guidance should have been given the ministers in carrying forward their individual community investigation projects.

On the basis of this one experiment, it appears that the general technique of ministers and social scientists studying together topics of the type covered in this series of seminars can be recommended as a valuable approach to enhancing the understanding of important current problems on the part of all who participated. It is a technique which might be equally valuable with many community leaders other than ministers.

James G. Maddox
Executive Director
Agricultural Policy Institute

APPENDIX

SEMINAR PROGRAMS

FIRST SEMINAR: ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Monday, October 9

Chariman and Discussion Leader - Donald J. Welch

10:00-10:30	Introduction and Purposes of Seminars Donald J. Welch
10:30-11:00	Meaning and Measurement of Economic Progress James G. Maddox
11:00-12:00	Open Discussion: (To include a review of some of the points in The Making of Economic Society, by Heilbroner)
12:00-1:30	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Garland Hendricks

1:30-2:00	Policies for Human Resource Development Selz C. Mayo
2:00-2:30	Open Discussion
2:30-3:00	Refreshment Break
3:00-3:30	Farm Policies for Economic Progress Charles R. Pugh
3:30-4:30	Open Discussion: (To include a review of some of the points in Food and Fiber for the Future)
6:00	Dinner

Tuesday, October 10

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Donald W. Shriver Jr.

8:00-8:30	Fiscal and Monetary Policies for Economic Progress Jack W. Wilson
8:30-9:00	Open Discussion
9:00-9:30	A Balanced Federalism for Economic Progress William J. Block
9:30-10:00	Open Discussion

10:00-10:30	Refreshment Break
10:30-12:00	The Social Scientists Face the Ministers: A Panel Discussion of the Changing Scene Richard A. King, James G. Maddox, Charles R. Pugh, Selz C. Mayo, Jack W. Wilson and William J. Block
12:00-1:00	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Richard A. King

1:00-1:30	Long-Term Outlook for Progress and Employment in the South James G. Maddox
1:30-2:00	Open Discussion
2:00-3:00	Suggestions for Study of the Local Community Selz C. Mayo
3:00	Adjourn

READING LIST

1. Committee for Economic Development, A Fiscal Program for a Balanced Federalism, June 1967, 70 pp. Distribution Division, Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, $1.00.

2. Committee for Economic Development, Modernizing Local Government, July 1966, 77 pp. Distribution Division, Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, $1.00

3. Committee for Economic Development, Modernizing State Government, July 1967, 85 pp. Distribution Division, Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, $1.00

4. Robert L. Heilbroner, The Making of Economic Society, 1962, 241 pp. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 07631, $3.50

5. Raymond W. Mack, Transforming America: Patterns of Social Change, 1967, 199 pp. Random House, Inc., 457 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, $2.95.

6. National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber, Food and Fiber for the Future, July 1967, 361 pp. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, $1.25

7. Ernest J. Nesius, The Rural Society in Transition, Public Affairs Series No. 3., April 1966, 66 pp. Office of Research and Development, West Virginia Center for Appalachian Studies and Development, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia, 26506, $1.50.

8. Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, Fiscal and Monetary Policy for High Employment, January 1962, 57 pp. Distribution Division, Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, $1.00.

9. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agriculture/2000, June 1967, 72 pp. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, no price available.

SECOND SEMINAR: THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, STATUS, AND POWER AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE

Monday, December 4

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Lawrence W. Avent

10:00-10:15	Introduction and Review of Seminar Series
10:15-10:45	The Church and the Poor Donald W. Shriver, Jr.
10:45-11:15	Who are the Poor? Jerry West
11:15-12:00	Open Discussion
12:00-1:30	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Thomas H. Caulkins

1:30-2:00	Causes and Concomitants of Poverty James G. Maddox
2:00-2:30	Open Discussion
2:30-3:00	Refreshment Break
3:00-3:30	Rural Poverty C. E. Bishop
3:30-4:30	Open Discussion
6:00	Dinner

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Jerry Drayton

7:30-8:00	Poverty and the Individual Howard Miller
8:00-9:00	Open Discussion

Tuesday, December 5

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Rufus H. Stark

8:00-8:30	The Politics of Poverty John Strange
8:30-9:00	Open Discussion

9:00-9:30	Problems of the Cities or What Caused the Riots and What are the Consequences Dorothy Williams
9:30-10:00	Open Discussion
10:00-10:30	Refreshment Break
10:30-12:00	Panel Discussion Donald W. Shriver Jr., Jerry West, James G. Maddox, C. E. Bishop, Howard Miller, John Strange and Dorothy Williams
12:00-1:30	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - H. C. Mulholland

1:30-2:00	Responsibilities for Alleviation of Poverty E. Walton Jones, N.C. Field Director, Coastal Plains Regional Commission
2:00-2:30	Open Discussion
2:30-3:00	Local Community Studies Selz C. Mayo

READING LIST

1. Mollie Orshansky, "Recounting the Poor--A Five-Year Review," Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 4, April 1966, pp. 20-37. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, $.25.

2. President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, The People Left Behind, September 1967, 160 pp. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, $1.00.

3. Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, The Concept of Poverty, 1965, 136 pp. Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street N.W., Washington, D.C., $1.00.

4. Burton A. Weisbrod, The Economics of Poverty--An American Paradox, 1965, 180 pp. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 07631, $1.95.

THIRD SEMINAR: THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Monday, Januray 29

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Donald W. Shriver Jr.

10:00-10:15	Introduction Donald W. Shriver Jr.
10:15-11:00	The Structure and Dynamics of Power in North Carolina Cities William Pursell, Special Consultant to Executive Director of the North Carolina Fund and former Director of Operation Breakthrough, Durham, N.C.
11:00-12:00	Open Discussion
12:00-1:00	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - H.C. Mulholland

1:30-2:00	The Structure and Dynamics of Power in Rural North Carolina Rev. Judson King, Director, Franklinton Center, Bricks, N.C.
2:00-2:30	Open Discussion
2:30-3:00	Bringing Pressure upon Governments: Citizen Groups as Lobbies Abraham Holtzman, Professor of Politics, North Carolina State University
3:00-3:30	Open Discussion
3:30-4:00	Refreshment Break
4:00-4:30	The Church and Alternative Strategies for Change Richard A. King, Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University
4:30-5:30	Open Discussion
6:00	Dinner

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Collins Kilburn

7:30-9:30	The Structure of Power and Decision-Making in One North Carolina City--a presentation and discussion by ministers from Winston-Salem David H. Burr, Jerry Drayton, William E. Gramley, Russell T. Montfort

Tuesday, January 30

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Albert Hockaday

8:00-8:45	What is a Good Community? Walter P. Baermann, Professor of Product Design, North Carolina State University
8:45-9:15	Open Discussion
9:15-10:00	The Church and Regional Planning John Scott, Senior Planner, Research Triangle Regional Planning Commission
10:00-10:30	Open Discussion
10:30-11:00	Refreshment Break
11:00-12:00	Discussion with Baermann, Scott and others
12:00-1:00	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Donald W. Shriver Jr.

1:00-3:00	Workshop analysis of local studies now underway with special references to local decision-issues and methods for studying and acting on them. Consultants: Selz C. Mayo, James G. Maddox, Donald W. Shriver Jr., Richard A. King and others.

READING LIST

1. Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics, 1963, 361 pp. Vintage Books, Inc., 457 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, $1.95.

2. Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, 1953, 294 pp. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 501 Franklin Avenue, Garden City, N.Y., 11531, $1.75.

3. Robert Lee and Martin E. Marty, *Religion and Social Conflict,* 1964, 193 pp. Oxford University Press, Inc., 16-00 Pollitt Drive, Fair Lawn, N.J., 07140, $1.50.

4. Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society,* 1958, 337 pp. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 501 Franklin Avenue, Garden City, N.Y., 11531, $1.45.

FOURTH SEMINAR: OPERATING THE ECONOMY AT FULL CAPACITY

Monday, February 26

Chairman and Discussion Leader - James G. Maddox

10:00-10:30	Major Characteristics of the U.S. Economy Jerry West, Visiting Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University
10:30-11:00	Major Characteristics of the Soviet Economy Carl Turner, Associate Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University
11:00-12:00	Open Discussion
12:00-1:30	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Don Campbell

1:30-2:00	Monetary and Fiscal Policy to Maintain Full Employment Fred A. Mangum, Jr., Assistant Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University
2:00-2:30	Open Discussion
2:30-3:00	Refreshment Break
3:00-3:30	Gold and the Balance of Payments Problem David Ball, Assistant Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University
3:30-4:00	Open Discussion
4:00-4:30	Farm Policies in a Full-Employment Economy W. D. Toussaint, Head, Department of Economics, North Carolina State University
4:30-5:00	Open Discussion
6:00	Dinner

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Paul G. Bunn

7:30-8:00	The Federal Government Budget Barry Friedman, Assistant Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University
8:00-9:00	Open Discussion

Tuesday, February 27

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Charles Bryant

8:00-8:30	Labor Unions and Full Employment A. J. Bartley, Associate Professor of Economics, North Carolina State University
8:30-9:00	Open Discussion
9:00-9:30	Work or Leisure? Juanita Kreps, Department of Economics, Duke University
9:30-10:00	Open Discussion
10:00-10:30	Refreshment Break
10:30-12:00	General discussion of all preceding topics
12:00-1:00	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Buie Seawell

General Topic: Specialized Manpower Training Activities in North Carolina

1:00-1:30	Technical Institutes and Related Programs Gerald James, President, Rockingham Community College, Wentworth, North Carolina
1:30-2:00	OEO and Related Programs Paul Guthrie, Assistant Coordinator, State Planning Task Force, Raleigh, North Carolina
2:00-2:30	Manpower Development Corporation Programs George Autry, Executive Director, Manpower Development Corporation, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
2:30-3:00	Open Discussion

READING LIST

1. Gregory Grossman, Economic Systems, 1967, 120 pp. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 07631, $1.75.

2. Robert L. Heilbroner and Peter L. Bernstein, A Primer on Government Spending, 1963, 120 pp. Random House, Inc., 457 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022, $1.65.

3. Robert A. Mundell, Man and Economics, 1968, 200 pp. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 330 W. 42nd. Street, New York, N.Y., 10036, $2.95.

FIFTH SEMINAR: ORGANIZING THE CHURCH FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Monday, April 1

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Donald W. Shriver Jr.

10:00-10:15	Introduction Donald W. Shriver Jr.
10:15-11:00	The Functions of the Church in a Changing Society Henry B. Clark, Associate Professor of Religion, Duke University
11:00-12:00	Response to Professor Clark Collins Kilburn
12:00-1:30	Lunch

Chairman and Discussion Leader - David Burr

1:30-3:00	The Reallocation of Church Resources for the Ministry in an Urban Society Dr. Richard Perkins, Director, Task-Force for Research, Urban Strategy and Training (TRUST), Richmond, Virginia, and Rev. Irving R. Stubbs, Codirector, TRUST, former Pastor of Howard Memorial Presbyterian Church, Tarboro, N.C.
3:00-3:30	Refreshment Break
3:30-4:30	Response to Dr. Perkins and Rev. Stubbs Russel Montfort
4:30-5:30	Open Discussion
6:00	Dinner

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Rufus H. Stark

7:30-8:00	Symbol and Service: The Social Impact of Liturgy Rev. Buie Seawell, Pastor of the Church of the Reconciliation, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
8:00-9:00	Open Discussion

Tuesday, April 2

Chairman and Discussion Leader - Donald W. Shriver Jr.

8:30-10:00	Stretegies for Church Response to Social Problems An analysis by a panel of social scientists: James G. Maddox, Jerry West, Selz C. Mayo and John Strange
10:00-10:30	Refreshment Break
10:30-12:00	Final discussion of participants' plans for the ministry
	Lunch and Adjournment

There was no reading list for the fifth seminar.

LIST OF MINISTERS PARTICIPATING IN SEMINARS

Lawrence W. Avent
First Presbyterian Church
414 Sunset Drive
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Grace Methodist Church
804 N. Graham-Hopedale Road
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Paul G. Bunn
Bethesda Methodist Church
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David H. Burr
First Presbyterian Church
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Donald A. Campbell
Hawfields Presbyterian Church
Route 1
Mebane, North Carolina 27302

Thomas H. Caulkins
Madison Avenue Baptist Church
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Henry C. Dollar
Momeyer Baptist Church
Route 2
Nashville, North Carolina 27856

Jerry Drayton
New Bethal Baptist Church
1016 N. Trade Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101

William E. Gramley
Olivet Moravian Church
Route 8, Olivet Church Road
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27106

Collins Kilburn
United Church
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110 Elliott Road
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Rufus H. Stark
Horne Memorial Methodist Church
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P. O. Box 569
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Aubrey S. Tomlinson
Louisburg Baptist Church
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Haymount Presbyterian Church
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Westminister Presbyterian Church
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